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## **ANNUAL SUMMARIES**



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# ANNUAL SUMMARIES

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## 1876

THE year which will close to-morrow has, with one great exception, been comparatively uneventful, and the absorbing interest of the Eastern Question has thrown still further into the shade transactions which in ordinary times would have attracted attention. Perhaps few politicians can remember without an effort that one obstinate civil war has finally been terminated within the current year. By a curious series of contingencies decisive changes in Spanish affairs have for some time past annually occurred in the course of the winter. At the beginning of 1875, Martinez Campos, by a military demonstration, restored the monarchy under the youthful son of Isabella II. The whole nation acquiesced in the accession of King Alfonso, and his Government wisely devoted its principal care to preparations for the suppression of the Carlist revolt. Marshal Serrano and his colleagues had previously done much to increase the strength and complete the organisation of the army; and before the end of the year the largest force which has in modern times been known in Spain was ready for action. Early in February the generals commenced the operations which had been already arranged. The King, with General Quesada as chief of the staff, assumed the nominal command. Martinez Campos watched the French frontier, while Moriones and Loma moved from the West, and the main army advanced from the South. Tolosa and Estella, which had long been the citadel and centre of the Carlist defence, fell with little resistance, and in the last days of February the Pretender finally abandoned the struggle by crossing the border into France. The struggle, which had been maintained for two years with remarkable

tenacity, and not without occasional success, had commenced at a time when the Republican Government had reduced the country to a deplorable condition of anarchy and weakness. The national army had been demoralised and almost disbanded, and the Federalist rebels of Cartagena were virtually the allies of the Carlists of Navarre and Biscay. The voluntary levies of the Northern Provinces displayed characteristic hardihood; and, although their devotion to the male line of the Bourbon dynasty could not be accurately tested, their obstinate attachment to their own local privileges allowed of no misunderstanding. Even when the Carlist troops asserted their superiority in the field it became more than ever certain that the Carlist cause was hopeless. In the old Carlist war, after the death of Ferdinand VII., Zumalacarregui and Gomez had occasionally carried the war into the enemy's country, and Madrid itself had seemed not to be safe from attack. In the recent contest the Carlists never attempted, even when the Central Government was weakest, to descend from their mountains, and, notwithstanding the well-known sympathies of the more extreme section of the clergy, no faction in the Provinces beyond the seat of war at any time declared itself in favour of the Pretender. It was perhaps an advantage to King Alfonso that the bishops and clergy hoped he might inherit the devotion of his mother to the cause of the Church. The godson of Pius IX., the young King had been educated in the straitest sect of Catholic orthodoxy; and when he ascended the throne the Court of Rome, while it affixed a price to its recognition and support, deemed it more advantageous to secure his adhesion than to commit itself to the less hopeful interests of Don Carlos. Señor Canovas del Castillo, the King's early adviser and principal Minister, had during the first year of the new reign bid high for the support of Rome by promising the Nuncio that the concordat concluded with Queen Isabella should be maintained. Finding it afterwards impossible or impolitic to redeem his pledge, he expiated by a temporary retirement from office an undoubted error of judgment. The easy victory over the Carlist forces proved that it had been unnecessary to make excessive concessions to a doubtful ally. The favour of the Holy See would have been in any case secured to Don Alfonso by the collapse of the Carlist cause. The insurgent Provinces were treated with well-judged leniency, and although their

claim to the maintenance of their special privileges has been ostensibly rejected, the final settlement of the question is practically adjourned. The only attempt at a renewal of agitation on the part of the Carlists has, at the instigation of a section of the clergy, assumed the form of pious enthusiasm. Some shiploads of Carlist pilgrims have been despatched by their spiritual advisers to Rome, where the extravagance of their conduct and demeanour incurred the displeasure of the Pope himself. A prelate of high rank who had accompanied the pilgrims to Rome was prohibited by royal order from returning to Spain until he tendered an apology for his want of courtesy to the King's ambassador at the Italian Court. The restoration of internal peace rendered it possible both to reduce the numbers of the army and to send large reinforcements to Cuba, where the insurrection, which has never attained the dignity of civil war, continues to smoulder. General Martinez Campos, who is considered the most ambitious as well as the ablest of the younger chiefs of the army, has been induced, perhaps for political reasons, to accept the lucrative office of Governor-General of Cuba. Like many of his predecessors, he professes confidence in his ability to suppress the rebellion, and there can be no doubt that he will devote great energy to the accomplishment of his task. If he should succeed in rendering to the Crown and country a service of paramount importance he will probably not fail to claim rewards proportionate to his merits. When the war had been concluded there was no longer an excuse for the continuance of the dictatorship which the King or his Minister had inherited from their immediate predecessors. The Cortes were duly convoked after a general election conducted according to the established practice of Spanish Governments, and with the usual result. The Constitutional parties and the Republicans, who had successively within four or five years commanded unanimous legislative bodies of their own, were represented by an insignificant fraction of the Assembly, Sagasta, formerly leader of the Parliamentary Conservatives and now of the remnant of the Constitutional party, is followed by a few adherents, while Castelar is the only Republican in the Cortes. Sagasta's ancient rival, Zorrilla, is in exile, although he has incurred no judicial condemnation, and he was lately accused, on suspicious evidence, of complicity in a plot said to have been devised by some of the unemployed generals of the

army. Canovas del Castillo, himself a temperate and prudent statesman, is embarrassed, like the Ministers of Louis XVIII. after the second French Restoration, by the numbers and the violence of the ultra-Conservatives, who in Spain bear the title of Moderates. An ambiguous paragraph, which may be interpreted either as granting or refusing toleration to Nonconformists, was inserted by a compromise in the Constitution which, according to the national custom, has been enacted by the Cortes. In the disputes which have since arisen between the clergy and the dissenters, who claim religious liberty, the Government has temporised with a leaning, prompted by deference to the Parliamentary majority, to the most restricted exposition of the law. The extravagance of ecclesiastical pretensions in Spain may be compared with the most grotesque displays of revolutionary violence in the days of Republican supremacy. A bishop of Minorca has publicly forbidden his flock, under pain of excommunication, to hold any intercourse in society or business with Protestants or other heretics. It is not certain whether Queen Isabella, who has lately returned to Spain, takes any part in public affairs, but the concessions of the Government to the Ultramontane party are naturally attributed to an influence which, if it is exercised, cannot fail to be pernicious. For the present Spain enjoys the great advantage of peace and rest. The chief danger of the Government is the exclusion from public activity of the Republicans and of the Constitutional Liberals, who together constitute the majority of the intelligent classes, if not of the whole population. As long, however, as order is preserved, the material prosperity of Spain cannot fail to increase.

In Italy a change of ministry, which apparently resulted from trivial or accidental causes, seems likely to produce important political consequences. In the month of March the Tuscan deputies, in resentment of real or supposed grievances affecting themselves and their constituents, combined with the regular Opposition to defeat the Government on the question of the Grist Tax. Signor Minghetti and his colleagues, though they ordinarily commanded a majority, immediately resigned, and a ministry of the Left, or the advanced Liberals, was formed under the Presidency of Signor Depretis. During the remainder of the session the new Ministers attempted no serious deviation from the policy of their predecessors; and perhaps as in other constitutional countries a change of persons and of parties may

have been in itself popular. A dissolution at the close of the session proved that the late Ministry had for the time entirely lost their hold on the country, and the measures which their adversaries now propose will probably exclude them for an indefinite time from power. An overwhelming majority of the supporters of the Depretis Government has been returned to the new Parliament on issues which have not been clearly defined. It seems probable that the choice of the electors has been principally determined by the jealousy of clerical influence, which Italian Governments, in spite of constant provocation, have hitherto discountenanced. Although the parochial clergy would probably, for the most part, be willing to cultivate friendly relations with the secular authorities, the bishops, under the instructions of the Vatican, take all occasions of protesting against the "usurping dynasty," and against all modern changes in custom and legislation. The present constituency, consisting principally of the middle classes, is naturally impatient of an agitation against the principles which are identified with national freedom and independence, yet the election might have taken another turn if it had been foreseen that the Liberal majority and the Ministers would seize the opportunity of shifting the balance of political power by a large reduction of the franchise. There will be little difficulty in carrying a Reform Bill, which will greatly strengthen the two most formidable sections of the natural opponents of the present Constitution. The Republicans may perhaps become formidable in a Parliament elected by a widely extended suffrage, and the clergy will hope for increased influence among the more ignorant portion of the rural population. Up to the present time the Ministers have deserved credit for prudence and moderation. No apparent change has occurred in the relations between the Italian Government and the Pope; but the present Government and Parliament are less deeply pledged than their predecessors to perseverance in the experiment of "a free Church in a free State." The Pope's vituperative harangues tend to increase the alienation between the Holy See and the Italian nation, and probably additional difficulties may arise from the death of the astute and experienced diplomatist who had long conducted the secular affairs of the Vatican. Cardinal Simeoni, now Secretary of State, is a zealous and intolerant Churchman, and he enters on his duties fresh from a partially successful effort to revive the practice of religious

persecution in Spain. Judicious Italian statesmen probably wish to defer the adoption of any decided policy until the Papal election, which cannot be long deferred, has enabled them to judge whether a friendly adjustment of differences is possible. It would be unreasonable to expect that Pius IX. should in his extreme age modify the pretensions which he has asserted with increased vehemence, as they have been more and more generally repudiated by the rest of the world. The subordination by the clergy under the Pope's direction of national to ecclesiastical interests has produced a conflict in nearly every continental country. During the current year the struggle has been to some extent suspended in Germany, though none of the questions in dispute have been amicably settled. The peaceful and orderly kingdom of Belgium has been disturbed by serious riots directed against the clergy, who, on their part, lose no opportunity of irritating their opponents and of promoting agitation among the rural portion of the community. The incessant denunciation by the Catholic clergy of every form of Christianity except their own has so far succeeded that in almost all parts of Europe the assailants of the Church have become the intolerant enemies of religion.

The political history of the French Republic during the year would have been watched in England with greater interest, if general attention had not been concentrated on the Eastern Question. The provisional Constitution which had been established after the fall of Paris in 1871, which had since been in some degree modified, practically terminated with the adjournment of the Assembly on the last day of 1875. Notwithstanding numerous errors, the Legislature which met at Bordeaux, and which afterwards sat at Versailles, had rendered great services to the country. For the first time since the fall of Louis Philippe a Parliamentary Government exercised supreme authority in France; and the Assembly, while it repressed all attempts to limit its sovereign attributes, voluntarily and gradually acquiesced, notwithstanding the adverse inclination of the majority, in the national will. The party which at first contended that the Assembly had only been commissioned to conclude peace after the war had become hopeless, afterwards assented to the assumption of constituent powers, as well as to the administration of the Government for five years by the representatives of the people. On the other hand, the purpose

of restoring the Monarchy was, after more than one disappointment, abandoned as—at least, for the time—impracticable by its most zealous promoters. The exaggerated scruples or the timidity of the Comte de Chambord, following on his reconciliation with the head of the Orleans family, left to moderate politicians only the alternative of a Republic. In the Constitution which was framed in 1875 the duration of the experiment was, according to one interpretation, nominally limited, though the Republicans profess to regard the power of revising the Constitution as only referring to details. The dispute is unimportant, for, when the appointed term arrives, the Republic, or, in a less probable contingency, the Monarchy or the Empire, will be perpetuated or established by the will of the country, and not in accordance with any legislative formula. One of the last acts of the Assembly had been to nominate its proportion of the members of the Senate, and, to the general surprise, a schism among the Conservative parties enabled the Republicans to secure a majority of senators for life. The balance was redressed by the municipal and popular elections, which brought the two great parties nearly to an equality in the Senate; and since that time casual nominations on the occurrence of vacancies by the Senate itself have reduced the Republicans to a minority. The Prime Minister, M. Buffet, having failed to secure election to the Senate, resigned a post which would in any case have been found untenable after the meeting of the new Assembly. M. Dufaure, who had also lost his election for the Senate, became Vice-President of the Council and Minister of Justice, with M. Ricard, who soon afterwards died and was succeeded by M. de Marcère, as Minister of the Interior. Of the Legislative Assembly, which consisted of 530 members, about one-half were Republicans of a more or less moderate type, reinforced on ordinary occasions by 60 Radicals, of whom only a few professed the Jacobinical or Socialist opinions of M. Louis Blanc and M. Naquet. Next in numbers to the Republicans were the Bonapartists with 90 members. The Orleanists were nearly equal in numbers to the Radicals; and the Legitimists, who had almost formed a majority in the former Assembly, numbered only 36. M. Thiers, who had been chosen for both branches of the Legislature, elected to sit in the Assembly; but, either in consequence of advancing years or perhaps from a sense of personal dignity, he has not taken any

share in the debates. The Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier was chosen President of the Senate, and M. Grévy of the Assembly. In addition to M. Dufaure and M. Ricard, the Ministry included M. Leon Say as Minister of Finance, M. Waddington as Minister of Public Instruction, and the Duc Decazes as Foreign Minister ; General de Cissey, who was afterwards succeeded by General Berthaut, remained Minister of War. Both M. Buffet and M. Dufaure were elected by the Senate to supply vacancies. Nor can it be disputed that an Upper House ought, as far as possible, to include all eminent statesmen and leaders of parties ; but it may be doubted whether the Senate, which now contains a decided Conservative majority, will extend its liberality to eminent members of the Republican Opposition. Further experience will show whether the Constitution will work in the probable event of a chronic antagonism between the Senate and the Assembly. Up to the present time neither House has cordially supported the Ministry, though the measures of the Government have been attacked in the two branches of the Legislature on opposite grounds. The issue which more than any strictly political question excites the passions of French Assemblies was raised by M. Waddington's proposal to repeal the power of granting academic degrees which had been conferred by the former Assemblies on free universities, or, in other words, on nominees of the bishops. The Minister of Public Instruction, himself a Protestant, was probably influenced either by the national taste for legislative and official symmetry or by a reasonable apprehension that the standard of education might be degraded under the stimulus of competition. The majority of the Assembly, in supporting the Bill, intended to check the supposed aggressions of the clergy ; and the Senate, which rejected the measure by a small majority, probably thought that the same question was involved in M. Waddington's proposal. During the course of the session M. Gambetta continued to display the prudence and moderation which had in the former Assembly surprised his early associates and opponents. In the absence of M. Thiers he has been the most prominent member of the majority, though he has not been recognised, as might have happened in England, either as the responsible leader of his party or as a candidate for office. The extreme Radicals have repeatedly expressed their dissatisfaction with M. Gambetta's exchange of the part of a demagogue for the position of a

statesman, but for the present the alliance between the two Republican sections is not openly dissolved. The elections proved that the peasantry had so far become converts to the Republic that they were willing to accept peace and security for property under the present form of Government. M. Gambetta protects his impatient allies from a political revolt which would be ruinous to their favourite institution. There is reason to believe that while the small landowners are shaken in their preference for absolute Government, the town population has also mitigated the anarchical extravagance of its political theories. The majority of the Assembly seems to direct its energies to two principal objections, of which neither is perhaps of paramount importance. A large number of contested elections were decided, according to a practice which has for more than a century been obsolete in England, on exclusively party grounds. An allegation of clerical influence was almost always sufficient to unseat a candidate on petition. The weakness of the Legitimists affords no protection against the jealousy of the Republicans, who, with better reason, dislike and dread the compact organisation of the Bonapartists. The Democratic section hesitates between acceptance and refusal of the alliance of Prince Jerome Napoleon, who, having deserted the cause of the dynasty to which he belongs, courts popular favour by the exhibition of extreme hostility to the clergy. Two disputes on questions intrinsically insignificant have lately produced a rupture between the Assembly and M. Dufaure's Ministry. The Republicans opposed a petty augmentation of the miserable stipends of the poorer parochial clergy, who will consequently be more than ever hostile to the present Constitution. Angrier feelings were roused by an attempt to terminate a dispute on military honours rendered at the funerals of officers of the Legion of Honour. According to the present rule, a guard of honour attends at the house of the deceased, and accompanies him to the grave, at which it was assumed that a religious service would be celebrated. Of late years it has become a point of honour with a section of Liberals to dispense with all religious ceremonies ; and the military authorities have, with a professional bias towards regularity and decorum, forbidden the attendance of the troops at civil burials. The Ministers proposed a compromise by which military honours were to be confined to soldiers ; but the Assembly rejected the arrangement,

and M. de Marcère, having consequently been authorised by the Government to withdraw the Bill, was afterwards accused by some of his colleagues of exceeding his commission by the acceptance of a motion proposed by the Republicans. About the same time the Ministers came into collision with the Conservative majority in the Senate on an Amnesty Bill, which had been adopted as a compromise in the Assembly. In the earlier part of the year the proposal of an amnesty had been rejected by a large majority, but M. Dufaure now consented that future prosecutions should be confined to certain classes of the accomplices of the commune. The vote of the Senate probably indicated rather a feeling of ill humour than a definite policy of opposition to the Government; but M. Dufaure and his colleagues determined no longer to continue a struggle which was reproduced in the form of internal dissensions in the Cabinet. They accordingly placed their resignations in the hands of the President, who was at first indisposed to accept, under the pressure of the Left, a ministry of a less Conservative character. In the negotiations which ensued it appeared that the main object of the Republican leaders in the Assembly was to obtain for their party a larger share in the local administration. Many prefects and sub-prefects, notwithstanding the establishment of the Republic, are still Legitimists, Orleanists, or Bonapartists. The General Election proved that the influence of public functionaries has been greatly diminished, but the mass of the population still attributes to the Government whatever political opinions are favoured by its local agents. It is scarcely just to compare the anxiety of political parties in France for the appointment of prefects of Republican or Royalist tendencies with the modern American practice of assigning the spoils to the victors. It is not as a reward for party services but as an instrument of Government that Frenchmen attach importance to the disposal of executive patronage. M. Dufaure would have consented to retain office on the invitation of Marshal MacMahon if he could have effected a reconciliation with the leaders of the majority. At one time there seemed to be some risk of a collision between the Marshal and the Assembly. The Republicans insisted on the strict interpretation of the constitutional principle, long recognised in England, that the Ministers should be virtually the nominees of the dominant Parliamentary party. In accordance with the English doctrine

they required not only the disposal of the Ministry of the Interior, but the removal of General Berthaut, who, as Minister of War, had with professional instinct opposed the attendance of military escorts at civil funerals. The Marshal at once declared that General Berthaut's services in the reorganisation of the army were indispensable, and that he would not allow the vital interests of France to depend on party caprice. To English politicians it appears obvious that in proportion to the importance of an office is the necessity that it should be held on a Parliamentary tenure, but the Republican leaders had the wisdom and patriotism to avoid a conflict which might have strained the new constitutional system. The Minister of War was allowed to retain his office with the consent of the majority, and the Marshal, with some sacrifice of personal feeling, consented to the nomination of M. Jules Simon as Vice-President of the Council, in place of M. Dufaure, and the Minister of the Interior, M. de Marcère, retired ; but the remodelled Government belongs, with one or two exceptions, exclusively to the Republican Party. M. Jules Simon and M. Martel, who is Minister of Public Worship, will have the opportunity of filling the public service with zealous Republicans ; or, if they prudently abstain from sweeping changes, they will make their subordinates understand that their places are held on condition of hearty co-operation with the Government. The first year of the definite Constitution has, on the whole, rendered the permanent establishment of the Republic more probable ; but a long succession of political experiments must precede its final adoption by the nation.

In the United States continued commercial depression has not interfered either with political activity or with the execution of the cherished project of the Philadelphia Exhibition. The buildings, the collection of articles produced at home and abroad, and the public ceremonies were all on a colossal scale, and the visitors were numbered by hundreds of thousands. The Centennial celebration of the foundation of the great Republic was in all respects successful, and it was satisfactory to learn that cordial relations existed between the authorities of the Exhibition and the English representatives. The only difference which has lately arisen between the Governments involved no interruption of the friendly understanding which is now becoming habitual. The Treaty of Extradition seemed on some points inconsistent

with the provisions of a more recent Act of Parliament. Lord Derby and Mr. Cross, guiding themselves by the Act, argued that a prisoner surrendered under the Treaty could not be tried for an offence not charged in the warrant of extradition. Mr. Fish, on behalf of the American Government, protested against a supposed attempt to override an international contract by municipal legislation, but Lord Derby disclaimed a pretension which would have been wholly unjustifiable, and the recent surrender of Brent to the United States authorities is a pledge that the controversy will end in an amicable compromise. To Americans the return of the periodical election of a President has provided ample material of excitement. The provisional result of a disputed election has fully justified the expectation that the contest would be close. In 1874 a Democratic majority had been returned after an interval of many years to Congress, and in 1875 the Republicans had carried the most important State elections; it was understood that nearly all the Southern States would vote for the Democratic candidate; but the Republicans hoped to carry the principal Northern States. At one time it seemed that the contest would turn on the question of currency; but the managers of the election on both sides found that the preference of specie or of paper money was determined rather by local position than by party bias. In the end the Republicans relied mainly on the argument that the Southern negroes needed protection from the oppression of the Democrats, while their adversaries protested against the prevalent corruption of the party in office, and also complained of the irregular interference of Federal troops in Southern elections. The first nominating Convention was held by the Republicans at Cincinnati. The project of re-electing General Grant for a third term had never been adopted by the party; and the probable candidates were Mr. Conkling, Mr. Bristow, as the representative of sound financial doctrines and official purity, and Mr. Blaine, formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives, who appeared on the early ballots to be the favourite of the delegates. Eventually the choice fell on Mr. Hayes, Governor of Ohio, a lawyer and politician of good repute, who had served with distinction as a volunteer general in the Civil War. The Democratic Convention at St. Louis nominated the ablest and most conspicuous leader of the party in the person of Mr. Tilden, Governor of New York. His administrative energy had

been displayed in the prosecution of some of the numerous and complicated frauds for which the ample revenues of the City of New York furnish materials. Mr. Tilden has during the contest directed the councils of his party with remarkable skill and vigour. Both parties had reason to congratulate themselves on their selection of candidates. The election itself has produced extraordinary complication and uncertainty. The Southern States, with the exception of Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina, in which the returns were disputed, voted for Mr. Tilden, who was also supported by four Northern States, including New York and Indiana. Of 184 votes which were required for the election of a President, Mr. Tilden received 183. It seemed at first certain that he would carry one out of the three doubtful States; but in all three Republican Returning Boards, in spite of the protests of the Democratic party, have given certificates to Republican Presidential electors. The Republicans contended that the Vice-President of the Senate, who is charged with the duty of counting the votes, could exercise no discretion in receiving the official certificates; nor were the Democrats unwilling to accept a doctrine which seems to be sound, because they found that the Governor of Oregon had given a certificate to one Presidential elector of their party. The issue of the controversy is still unknown; but although the peace of the Union is not threatened, the successful candidate will be embarrassed during his term of office by the consciousness of a disputed election and of a doubtful title. It is evident that the Constitution is defective in the want of provision for the authoritative settlement of disputed Presidential elections. The jealousy of rival parties ought not to prevent the adoption of some legislative remedy. The United States have not been engaged in any external dispute, for the irritation which was formerly caused by the Civil War in Cuba seems to have subsided, and the outrages of Mexican freebooters on the frontier of Texas possess no political significance. Mexico itself sinks deeper and deeper into anarchy, which may, perhaps, eventually render American intervention necessary. An adventurer named Porfirio Diaz lately defeated Tejada, the President of the Republic, and, it has been reported, has taken him and some of his Ministers prisoners. The Civil wars and insurrections of some other South American States are still more obscure.

It seldom happens that the intervention of the Home Government is not required in some part of the widespread dependencies of England. At the beginning of the year the petty war in the Malay Peninsula was brought to a close ; nor has peace been actually disturbed in any part of the British dominions ; but Barbadoes, formerly the most tranquil and prosperous of the West Indian colonies, has reproduced on a small scale and in a milder form the conflict of races and the economical difficulties which a few years ago caused the abolition of Constitutional Government in Jamaica. Lord Carnarvon had opportunities of explaining to Parliament his reasons for supporting the Governor against the violent attacks of the planters, but he has since wisely removed Mr. Pope Hennessy to the Governorship of Hongkong, and it is probable that the task of reconciling conflicting interests and passions, if it is intrinsically feasible, may be more easily performed by a successor who has been hitherto a stranger to local quarrels. During part of the year Lord Carnarvon has been actively engaged in the affairs of South Africa, and some advance has been made towards his policy of Federation. Mr. Brand, President of the Orange Free State, has returned home from a visit to England, after agreeing with Lord Carnarvon to relinquish the claim of his Government to the disputed territory of West Griqualand in consideration of a money payment. Mr. Molteno, principal Minister of the Cape Colony, has given a qualified assent to the policy of Federation, for which recent events have furnished an additional argument. The Government of the Transvaal Republic, having provoked a war with the natives, has sustained a heavy defeat, and, unless the disaster is retrieved, the Dutch farmers may perhaps find it necessary to form a union for defence with their more powerful neighbours within the English dominions. The Colonists are at the same time aware of the danger of Caffre wars in any part of South Africa. It is on all accounts desirable that some Federal authority should control the dealings of Europeans with natives.

The visit of the Prince of Wales to India, which had begun in the autumn of 1875, was throughout prosperous and successful. There is reason to hope that the native princes, by whom he was everywhere received with gorgeous hospitality, were gratified by the opportunity of personal intercourse with the future Sovereign of India. The assumption by the Queen of

her new title will be celebrated on Monday by a splendid ceremony at Delhi, under the presidency of Lord Lytton, who succeeded Lord Northbrook as Viceroy. Lord Northbrook's services were properly acknowledged by his elevation to a higher rank in the peerage. The question which has of late chiefly occupied the attention of the Government and of the official and commercial communities has been the depreciation in the value of silver. A reaction in price has lately revived the hopes of those who suffer by the change, and they are further encouraged by rumours of diminished production in the silver mines of America. Further east, long-standing disputes with China have been for the present terminated by a new treaty, negotiated by Sir Thomas Wade with the most powerful of the Imperial Ministers. The mission which was despatched to investigate on the spot the murder of Mr. Margary obtained no satisfactory result, but by the new treaty the Chinese Government agrees to pay compensation for the outrage and to provide security against similar disasters. The text of the treaty is to be published in the *Official Gazette*, an embassy is to be sent to England, and certain additional markets have been opened to foreign trade. The jealousy of European intrusion is not seriously abated ; but it is satisfactory that the English Government should have been enabled for the present to dispense with the employment of coercive measures.

The domestic history of the year has been monotonous and calm, except so far as it has been affected by the unusual excitement of public feeling in connection with Eastern affairs. There have been, hitherto, no symptoms of a revival of industrial activity. The iron trade is still in the lowest state of depression, and the absence of enterprise has produced unprecedented cheapness of money. The bank rate of discount, which a year ago varied between 4 and 5 per cent, has now for many months remained at the nominal level of 2 per cent, while it has practically been almost impossible to employ money in discounting bills. The joint-stock banks now decline to receive deposits at interest except from their own regular customers. A great diminution in the bank reserve has scarcely produced a perceptible effect on the value of money. There is, fortunately, reason to believe that the population is moderately prosperous, notwithstanding the dulness of trade. The Revenue Returns have thus far justified the calculations of the Chancellor of the

Exchequer; and pauperism has continued to decrease. The Board of Trade Returns during the autumn exhibit exports diminished in value, but in some instances increased in quantity. Political events have been rare and uninteresting, for a few casual elections have produced no material change in the comparative strength of parties. At the end of the session Lord Malmesbury, for many years a member of every Conservative Government, resigned the Privy Seal, which is now held by Lord Beaconsfield in conjunction with his more important office. The vacancy in the Cabinet has been filled by Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who retains his office of Secretary for Ireland. No author or politician of the highest order has died in England during the year. Mr. John Forster was one of the most conscientious and satisfactory of historical and biographical writers, and the non-completion of his exhaustive *Life of Swift* was a real loss to literature. Miss Martineau had not increased in her later years the considerable reputation which she obtained and deserved more than forty years ago by her *Tales of Political Economy*. Perhaps no other writer has succeeded so well in the questionable and difficult province of didactic fiction. Lord Sandhurst, an accomplished soldier, died prematurely in the course of the year. In different Indian campaigns he acquired a high reputation, and as chief of the staff he shared with Lord Clyde the credit of the last campaign of the Indian Mutiny. His capacity as an administrator and financier was rendered less available for the public service by a deficiency in the tact and temper which are indispensable to the management of men. Mr. Horsman, who died only a few weeks ago, furnished another proof of the insufficiency of considerable abilities, accompanied by certain defects of character, to ensure the highest success. Early in life Mr. Horsman attained a high position in the House of Commons, and at one time he had the opportunity of proving his fitness for high office ; but as Secretary for Ireland he was indolent and careless, and he afterwards subsided into the position of an independent and discontented member. His polished and elaborate speeches were, in his later years, almost always directed against his political allies. Among the few eminent foreigners who are included in the obituary of the year, Marshal Saldanha was well known in England, and his career was interesting because it had extended over fifty years of incessant activity. In the dynastic and

constitutional struggle which ended in the establishment of the more liberal branch of the House of Braganza in Portugal Saldanha had taken a principal part. He was old enough to have been encouraged by Lord Palmerston and thwarted by the Duke of Wellington. At the age of eighty he had still sufficient vigour to put himself at the head of a military movement for the purpose of effecting a Ministerial revolution. Cardinal Antonelli, who died only a few weeks since, will probably be remembered as the last of a long line of ecclesiastical statesmen who have administered the temporal affairs of the Holy See. The late Secretary of State, though he early attained the rank of Cardinal, entered priest's orders late in life at the express wish of the Pope. In the earlier part of his long political career he continued the traditions of his predecessors, and he was not responsible for the changes which gradually deprived his office of nearly all its diplomatic importance. While, in accordance with his own personal convictions, and under the influence of the Jesuits, Pius IX. incessantly tightened the bonds of ecclesiastical obedience and exalted the spiritual pretensions of the Papacy, Catholic Governments one after another were provoked to assert their independence, and at last not a hand was raised to defend the temporal power when Rome became the capital of the Italian kingdom. Cardinal Antonelli, though he was thoroughly loyal to his sovereign, incurred no responsibility for measures which he probably deemed impolitic. The proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the publication of the Syllabus, the convocation and the decrees of the Council of the Vatican lay outside the department of the Secretary of State. A graceful and adroit courtier and man of the world, Cardinal Antonelli formally represented a dethroned sovereign with dignity and propriety. His successor, Cardinal Simeoni, is a zealous advocate of the modern or ultramontane doctrines, which he lately asserted as Nuncio at Madrid in language too extreme even for the endurance of the Spanish Government.

The purchase of shares in the Suez Canal and the mission of Mr. Cave to investigate the state of the Egyptian finances were fully discussed in Parliament. On the refusal of the English Government to take part in a Commission for the administration of the revenue and for the adjustment of the debt, the Khedive entered into an arrangement with a body of French

financiers, which was unsatisfactory to the bondholders, and which eventually failed to afford the expected relief. In the latter part of the year Mr. Goschen was induced to undertake the task of effecting a new settlement, which, if the Khedive is prudent enough to adhere to his pledges of economy, will restore the financial credit of his Government. During his visit to Egypt Mr. Goschen procured the dismissal of the Finance Minister, who is believed to have been the principal author of the Khedive's embarrassments. There is reason to hope that a costly and disastrous contest with Abyssinia will not be further prosecuted. The Egyptian army has on two occasions incurred severe defeats, and the expense of the campaign must have been serious.

The declaration of insolvency which had been made by the Turkish Government in the autumn of 1875 was almost forgotten, except by the unfortunate creditors, in the political complications which have since absorbed the attention of Europe. The insurrection still smouldered in Herzegovina and Bosnia with the covert assistance of Montenegro and Servia. The Governments of Russia, Austria, and Germany, united within a year or two by a professedly cordial alliance, assumed to themselves the duty of imposing on Turkey a scheme of administrative reform which might satisfy the demands of the insurgents, and perhaps prevent further disturbance. The task of drawing up the project was entrusted to the Austro-Hungarian Chancellor; and a Note which virtually repeated the liberal decrees of the Sultan, which have produced little practical result, was approved by the Allies, and in the first days of the year submitted to the Governments of England, France, and Italy. The civil equality of Christians and Mahomedans, the reform of the judicial tribunals, and the application of a due proportion of the public revenue to provincial objects might probably have satisfied the populations of Bosnia and Herzegovina, if reliance could have been placed on any promises of the Porte. The French and Italian Governments immediately expressed their assent to Count Andrassy's Note; but Lord Derby at first hesitated, because he both doubted the efficacy of the project and desired as long as possible to abstain from foreign intervention in the internal administration of Turkey. After the lapse of a few days, finding that the Sultan's Ministers were willing to accept the project, the English Government assented to the Note, at the

same time intimating a doubt whether its provisions could be applied during the continuance of the insurrection. The Note was immediately afterwards published and formally accepted by the Porte. Nevertheless, no effect was produced on the condition of the disturbed provinces. The insurgents were probably justified in disregarding merely verbal reforms, and Servia and Montenegro, which were exempt from the abuses of Turkish administration, had no interest in the enforcement or disregard of Count Andrassy's project of improvement. The Turkish Government, with characteristic indolence, made no serious attempt to crush the insurrection by force; and it would have been impossible to establish during the war a new civil administration. The Government at Constantinople was at the time in a state of hopeless weakness and confusion, and rumours of conspiracies, which were partially well founded, were connected with fears of some fanatical outbreak among the Mussulmans, who were generally suspicious and discontented. Early in May the general alarm was justified and increased by a formidable riot at Salonica, caused by a trivial occurrence. The French and German Consuls were murdered by the mob, in the belief that they had assisted in the rescue of a girl who had been converted to Mahomedanism, and, as usual, some of the local functionaries were guilty either of complicity or of connivance at the outrage. The result proved that the riot was an isolated occurrence, and the aggrieved Governments obtained from the Porte the satisfaction which they demanded; but there was reason for apprehending other acts of violence in the capital or the provinces, and the Salonica murders proved to be the immediate occasion of further diplomatic intervention. The Emperor of Russia made a hurried journey to Berlin, and obtained the concurrence of the German and Austrian Governments in a document which was consequently known as the Berlin Memorandum. A preamble relating chiefly to the untoward event of Salonica was followed by documents more specific and more peremptory than the corresponding clauses of the Andrassy Note; and in conclusion the Imperial Governments announced that, at the termination of an armistice which they demanded, they would be prepared to adopt more stringent measures, if a pacification were not already effected. The French and Italian Governments, as in the former case, accepted the Memorandum as soon as it was brought to their notice; but

Lord Derby, after full consideration, declined, on the part of his Government, to concur. The Berlin Memorandum, in fact, was never presented to the Porte, and it was, in consequence of a change in circumstances, tacitly abandoned by the three Imperial Governments, including Russia. The answer of the English Government was delivered in the latter part of May. About the same time an organised multitude of Softas, or legal students, had extorted from the Sultan the dismissal of the Grand Vizier, who had long acted in concert with the Russian Ambassador. His successor, Mehemet Rushdi Pasha, and the new Seraskier, Hussein Pasha, were leaders of the old Turkish or warlike party, while their most powerful colleague, Midhat Pasha, was known to be engaged in comprehensive projects of internal reform. The ulterior object of the conspiracy which had raised them to power was immediately afterwards disclosed. On the 30th of May Hussein Pasha entered the palace with a military force and presented to the astonished Sultan a judgment of the Sheik-ul-Islam which announced that he was lawfully deposed. His nephew, son of the late Sultan Abdul Medjid, was placed on the throne under the title of Murad V. The unfortunate Sultan only survived his fall by two or three days. The report that he had committed suicide naturally provoked suspicions of violence, but the result of an inquiry, in which the physicians of the different embassies took part, was to prove that the unfortunate Sultan, whose extravagance and folly had lately indicated derangement, had destroyed himself in a fit of indignation and despair. On the accession of Abdul Aziz strong hopes had been founded on a character which was said to be simple and manly; and it was believed that he would devote himself to the reform of abuses in the palace and the Empire. It was soon found that the only improvements in which he was interested were additions to the strength of the army and navy. The loans which had first been raised in the time of his predecessor enabled him to build and equip a powerful fleet; the numbers of the army were largely increased, and a large and efficient force of artillery was provided. The rest of his revenues and of the money raised from foreign creditors was, to a great extent, wasted in reckless prodigality; and in the latter part of his reign he approximated more and more to the worst type of a capricious Oriental despot. His subjects seem to have generally approved his dethronement; but, un-

fortunately, Murad V., either from natural incapacity, or in consequence of the surprise and shock of his elevation, was from the first incapable of discharging his duties. A tragic event which happened a fortnight after the deposition of Abdul Aziz may perhaps have contributed to the morbid depression of the new Sultan. A Circassian officer named Hassan Bey found means to enter a room in which the Council was assembled, and before he was arrested he murdered Hussein Pasha and Raschid Pasha, the Foreign Minister, and wounded the Minister of Marine. The assassin seems to have been actuated by private motives of revenge ; but the disaster tended to increase the general feeling of suspicion and alarm. Within three months the Ministers found it necessary to depose Murad V. in his turn, and to raise his brother, Abdul Hamid, to the throne.

Immediately before the fall of Abdul Aziz events had occurred in the Bulgarian districts south of the Balkan which have profoundly modified the fortunes of Turkey through the effect which has been produced on the opinions, and in some degree on the policy, of England. In the course of the spring foreign agents succeeded in inducing the inhabitants of a few Christian villages to rise in insurrection, and, although the movement never became formidable, a certain number of Mussulmans were put to death. The Government of Constantinople, then on the brink of revolution, was unable or unwilling to detach any considerable body of regular troops into the province, and the local authorities, in some cases under superior orders and elsewhere of their own accord, called the Mahomedan population to arms, and proceeded, with the aid of irregular troops, including "Circassian" soldiers in the district, to attack not only the feeble and isolated bodies of insurgents, but the unoffending Christian population. The ferocity of the Mahomedan levies was, perhaps, in the first instance, stimulated by panic ; but when all danger of resistance had disappeared, their worst passions were gratified by the perpetration of crimes of which indiscriminate murder was scarcely the worst. Cruelty was in some cases aggravated by the basest perfidy, and among the victims of savage licence were large numbers of women and children. In the accounts which were afterwards published in England, it was stated that 60 villages had been destroyed, and that 25,000 Christians had been murdered. An official inquiry, conducted by Mr. Baring, one of the secretaries of the English

Embassy, reduced the number of sufferers, but in substance it confirmed the charges which had first been preferred by newspaper correspondents. Lord Derby, on receiving Mr. Baring's report, addressed to the Porte a despatch containing reproofs and demands for redress, such as have probably never before been received by a nominally independent Government. Although the Turkish Ministers promised compliance with his demands for the condign punishment of the chief criminals, the performance of their promises has been hitherto evaded. In a speech in the House of Lords Lord Derby had warned the Turks that a repetition of the Bulgarian massacre would do them more harm than the loss of a pitched battle. He might have added that the crimes already committed have cost their Government more than many an unsuccessful campaign. Although the general character of the Bulgarian transactions was known before the close of the session, it was only when additional details were published, a few days after the prorogation, that a sudden burst of indignation swept through all parts of England. During the latter half of August excited meetings were held almost daily in different parts of the country to denounce the conduct of the Turks, and in the beginning of September Mr. Gladstone added new vigour to the agitation by a pamphlet, in which he demanded the expulsion of the Turks —by which he explained that he meant the Turkish officials—from Bulgaria, if not from Europe. In his pamphlet, and in a speech to a crowded meeting at Greenwich, Mr. Gladstone severely censured the language of Lord Beaconsfield, while he professed a confidence in Lord Derby which he afterwards withdrew. In a speech at Aylesbury Lord Beaconsfield exhibited a strange incapacity to understand the popular feeling ; and at the Lord Mayor's dinner he concluded his speech with a boast of the military resources of England, which was thought to involve a defiance of Russia, and to contain a threat of war. By that time the active agitation had subsided ; but Mr. Gladstone lately addressed an enthusiastic assembly at St. James's Hall, which had met to protest against war on behalf of Turkey.

In the first days of July, Servia and Montenegro, which had up to that time been restrained by the advice or command of Russia, simultaneously declared war against Turkey. Immediately afterwards the Montenegrins defeated Mukhtar Pasha,

who commanded in Herzegovina, and during a desultory campaign, which was conducted carelessly and languidly on the part of the Turkish Generals, Prince Nicholas maintained his superiority in the field, though he was not strong enough to occupy permanently any part of the enemy's territory. General Tchernayeff, who had formerly attained distinction by the capture of Tashkend and by other proofs of military and administrative ability in Central Asia, assumed as a volunteer the chief command of the Servian army. In the hope, perhaps, of aid from a Bulgarian insurrection, he crossed the south-eastern frontier, as if for the purpose of advancing towards Sofia ; but, receiving no support from the Bulgarians, and finding himself threatened by superior forces, he almost immediately retired into Servian territory. The Turkish Government, at last aroused by the imminence of danger, now rapidly reinforced their army with disciplined troops drawn from all parts of the Empire. The generals in command, either through their own sluggishness, or perhaps under the influence of political considerations, conducted their operations slowly, but from first to last they experienced no serious check. The Servian militia proved to be incapable of resisting the regular Turkish army, and Tchernayeff was reduced to the necessity of depending chiefly on some thousands of volunteers who arrived from Russia. Early in August the Turkish army took Gurgosovatz, and the Servians were compelled to evacuate the important post of Saitschar. The English Government, which had strongly disapproved the declaration of war, and which had watched the fortunes of the struggle with anxious vigilance, lost no time, when the Turks had obtained their first successes, in endeavouring to rescue the Servians from the consequences of their aggressive rashness. On the 14th of August the English Consul-General at Belgrade was instructed to inform Prince Milan that an application to the Powers for their good offices would be favourably received by England. On the 23rd the Prince, in the presence of his Foreign Minister, asked the representatives of the six Powers to transmit to their Governments his application for peace, and for a preliminary and immediate suspension of hostilities. The Ambassador at Constantinople, by Lord Derby's directions, at once urged on the Porte the expediency of concluding peace, and, on the refusal of the Austrian Government to sign a collective Note,

Sir H. Elliot proposed to the Porte an armistice of not less than six months' duration, with a view to discussion of the terms of peace. The Porte objected to the form of armistice with a vassal Government which was technically in a state of rebellion, and a memorandum was drawn up in which terms of peace were formally proposed, with an intimation that they were not intended to be final. The Embassies were at the same time informed that an order for the cessation of hostilities would be at once despatched, and, consequently, the English Agent at Belgrade was directed to press the Servian Government to give similar orders. The English Government then suggested terms of peace, which were approved by Austria when Lord Derby had explained that in proposing the concession of autonomy he had no intention of favouring the establishment of a tributary State. In the meantime the progress of the Turkish army, though slow, had been uninterrupted. On the 20th of July and several following days Tchernayeff incurred severe defeats before Alexinatz, and again, on the 1st of September, he was defeated on the left bank of the Morava. On the 20th of September a public notification by the Porte of the suspension of arms was answered by an audacious proclamation, in which General Tchernayeff, obviously for the purpose of rendering pacification impossible, in the name of the army declared Prince Milan King of Servia. The Government of Belgrade at the same time rejected the suspension of hostilities. The Russian Ambassador in London assured Lord Derby that his Government had advised the Servian Government not to renew hostilities, but that they could not press the matter, as they had themselves demanded a regular armistice. Immediately afterwards Count Schouvaloff announced a proposal, already made by his Government to Austria, that in the event of the refusal by the Porte of terms of peace, Bosnia should be occupied by Austria, and Bulgaria by Russia, and that the fleets of all the Powers should enter the Dardanelles. At the time of the disturbance at Salonica Sir H. Elliot had sent for English vessels as a precaution against outbreaks, and a powerful English fleet has since been stationed in Besika Bay. As the proposal of a joint occupation was disapproved both by Austria and by England, Prince Gortchakoff next suggested an armistice of six weeks, to which the English Government, having already proposed an armistice of not less than a month, could offer no objection. The other

Powers assented both to the armistice and to the project of a Conference to be held either at Constantinople or in some neutral place. On the 12th of October the Porte offered an armistice of six months, which was necessarily accepted by the English Government as consistent with their own proposal, while it was rejected by Russia as an alleged evasion of the demand for a shorter term. About the same time Russia commenced preparations for war on a great scale ; and within a few weeks an army of more than 200,000 men, under the command of the Grand Duke Nicholas, was mobilised, and concentrated on the south-western frontier. By the end of October it became evident that, in default of direct intervention by Russia, the cause of the Servians was hopeless, and that the way was open for the Turkish army to Belgrade, which was incapable of defence. On the last day of the month Alexinatz was taken, and General Ignatieff, who had already arranged with the Turkish Ministers a six weeks' armistice, was surprised by a telegraphic order from the Emperor at Livadia that he should demand an instant armistice, and in the event of a refusal leave Constantinople with the whole staff of the Embassy within forty-eight hours. The Porte wisely submitted to an affront which involved no substantial change of policy. From that time to the present the Russian armaments have proceeded, while the Turkish Government has also taken active measures to defend its territory. After the cessation of hostilities there was no impediment to the meeting of a Conference in which England is, to the satisfaction of all parties, represented by Lord Salisbury. It now remains for the Porte to accept or reject the proposals of the Governments. There is little difference of opinion as to the administrative measures to be adopted for the benefit of the Christian population. The guarantees by which the performance of Turkish promises is to be secured raise more difficult questions. If Midhat Pasha, who has very recently succeeded to the office of Grand Vizier, finally rejects the demands of Russia, war must immediately ensue ; but it is believed that the Russian Government would prefer a peaceful solution, and the efforts of England will be directed in the end, as in the beginning, to the object of averting a rupture, of which the consequences are incalculable.

## 1877

DURING the past year the country has been tranquil, if not prosperous ; though there are symptoms of an early revival of political agitation. It is difficult to excite interest in the contests of parties while general attention is fixed on the progress of a foreign war. The French election, with its grave causes and incalculable consequences, has occupied but the second place in the thoughts of English politicians. The subject might, perhaps, have been more eagerly discussed but for a singular unanimity of judgment, which afforded no occasion for controversy. There was a similar agreement on the necessity of counteracting by all practicable methods the effects of the famine in Southern India. The only discussions which arose related to administrative details, which could only be arranged by the local authorities ; but a subscription of nearly half a million proved that sympathy for the sufferers was genuine and practical.

The harvest of the year in England was one of the worst on record, and the commercial depression of two or three previous years has not abated. The returns of exports show a considerable diminution, though the large amount of imports proves that the purchasing power of the community is not seriously affected. The stagnation extends to every other commercial country, but hopes of an early revival are entertained in the United States. One indication of the unsatisfactory state of trade is furnished by the difficulty of employing money in discounting bills. From April 1876 to May 1877 the bank rate of interest remained at 2 per cent, and the market rate was so much lower than the official quotation that the London joint-stock banks discontinued their acceptance of money on

deposit, except from their regular customers. In May the rate was raised to 3 per cent ; and, after a temporary reduction, it was advanced in October to 4, and afterwards for a few weeks to 5 per cent ; but the main object of the Bank of England was to guard against a drain of bullion, and the supply of money for purposes of discount still exceeds the demand.

The depressed state of commerce and industry has, unfortunately, not suspended the disastrous struggle between employers and workmen. A strike in the cotton trade at Bolton and a lock-out by the iron shipbuilders on the Clyde have caused much local distress. The colliers have been advised by some of their leaders to reduce the output of coal, in the hope of raising prices at the cost of the community. The construction of a great public building in London has been interrupted by a strike of the masons for increased wages and shorter hours of work.

Another impediment to commerce and industry consists in the tendency of several European States to revert to the obsolete doctrine of Protection. The German Chancellor has lately favoured an increase of duties on competing foreign products, and the Austrian manufacturers clamour for protection. Spain proposes by a forced construction of treaties to deprive England of the privileges of the most favoured nation, and Switzerland attempts to exclude English commodities from the market. Any extension of the Russian dominions will increase the area which is almost closed to foreign commerce ; and in some of the English Colonies legislatures returned by working men are bent on the discouragement of trade with England.

It is, perhaps, not surprising that a few English manufacturers, under pressure at home and abroad, are beginning to waver in their adherence to sound economic principles. More than one eminent politician has, consequently, thought it necessary to expound in public the cardinal principles on which modern English legislation is based. Notwithstanding occasional defection from the true economic faith, there is no danger of recurrence to the theories of reciprocity which were current thirty or forty years ago. The anomalies which are involved in commercial treaties are more fully understood since it has appeared that they tend to countenance and confirm the prejudices of foreign countries. The expiring treaties will probably be renewed, if the other contracting parties abstain

from requiring additional restrictions ; but probably no English Minister will consent to an increase of foreign tariffs for purposes of protection, though he may not be able to prevent perverse legislation by foreign States.

One among many causes of the continued depression of trade has been the war in the East, though its course has been watched with an interest and anxiety which were independent of commercial considerations. English industry has not even profited by the extraordinary demand for articles required for the use of troops in the field. The wants of Turkey have been chiefly supplied by the United States, while Russia has made large purchases in Austria and Germany. The English money-market has been practically closed to both belligerents. The bankruptcy of 1876, which resulted, according to a probable report, from the counsels of General Ignatieff, has for the time utterly destroyed the credit of Turkey. English capitalists would otherwise not have been deterred by moral considerations or by political prejudice from advancing money to the Porte. The reasons which rendered it impossible for Russia to contract a loan in London were of the same character, though the risk was obviously smaller. During the Crimean War English holders of Russian stock received their dividends punctually, and, consequently, the credit of the Imperial Government has from that time stood high in the London market ; but within twenty years the Russian debt has been largely increased, and it was foreseen that the extraordinary expenditure of the war would cause financial embarrassment. A Russian loan has been effected at Berlin on onerous terms ; and the Government has found it necessary to provide for its wants mainly by internal loans and by a large additional issue of paper money.

It is not to be regretted that the neutrality of England has by accident extended to pecuniary and commercial relations, though private transactions with either belligerent would have been strictly consistent with international law. The Russian Government is not likely to share the vulgar delusion that the Turks have received secret subsidies from England ; but calumnious rumours are among the most operative causes and the most mischievous consequences of national animosity. The diplomatic relations between the Governments have been sometimes severely strained, and the Russian Press has been, before the war and during its progress, largely occupied with menaces

and reproaches addressed to England. It may be admitted that the abandonment of the traditional policy of protecting Turkey has been sometimes accompanied or disguised by the use of language which was not calculated to conciliate Russian jealousy.

A year ago it seemed to sanguine politicians possible that both Powers might agree on a common policy. The Conference at Constantinople had then lately begun its labours, and it was believed that Lord Salisbury and General Ignatieff were acting in perfect concert. The chief English plenipotentiary was, perhaps, surprised at the readiness with which his Russian colleague acceded to his suggestions. One of the main objects of the English Government had been to moderate the demands of Russia, and the task proved to be easy beyond expectation. It was at last proposed by the united plenipotentiaries that the Porte should allow some of its provinces to be occupied by a foreign garrison, and that the reforms, on which no nominal difference existed, should be placed under the control of Commissioners approved by the European Powers. In the last days of 1876 the Turkish Ministers refused their assent, and the project was consequently modified. The final proposals were confined to a small addition of territory to Montenegro, to the conclusion of peace with Servia on the basis of the state of things before the war, to the nomination by the Porte, in concert with the Powers, of Governors-General of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, to some minor reforms, and to the appointment by the Powers of two Commissioners who were to superintend the observance of the regulations.

Midhat Pasha, then Grand Vizier, having at once determined to reject the proposals, went through the form of consulting a Grand Council of Mussulman and Christian dignitaries, who unanimously refused their consent. In the middle of January the plenipotentiaries, after a speech of menace to the Turks by General Ignatieff, declared the dissolution of the Conference, and with the resident ambassadors they left Constantinople. The expectation that Sir Henry Elliot would not return to his post was afterwards confirmed by the appointment of Mr. Layard temporarily, and at last permanently, as his successor in the Embassy. The party which holds the opinions of Mr. Gladstone has since attributed the failure of the Conference to the public announcement that England would in no contingency

use coercive measures against Turkey. Lord Salisbury, on the other hand, has maintained that joint coercion by all the Powers was impracticable, that the Porte would probably not have yielded to the joint pressure of Russia and England, and that it would have been undignified and weak to imply a threat of intervention if the Government had resolved to abstain from coercive measures. Except for purposes of party attack and recrimination, the whole controversy is obsolete. When Mr. Gladstone's resolutions were proposed the Liberal leaders declined to approve a policy of intervention, and measures which are not supported by an actual or prospective majority in Parliament lie for the time outside the region of practical politics. On one point alone the Porte yielded to the representations of the Great Powers, by concluding peace with Servia on the terms which had been recommended by the Conference.

In the previous autumn, after the defeat of the Servian troops and their volunteer auxiliaries from Russia, the Turkish Government had suspended the advance of its army on the peremptory demand of the Emperor Alexander. For the purpose of removing an impediment to the maintenance of peace, the English Government had urgently pressed on Turkey the expediency of ending the contest in Servia without delay. The Skuptschina was convoked to consider the treaty of peace, and, after giving its approval, it was immediately dissolved. The Prince and his Ministers have since accepted a subsidy from Russia, and have made all preparations for a campaign. They prudently deferred taking the field so long as the fortune of war in Bulgaria remained doubtful. It was only after the fall of Plevna that the Servian Government declared war. The conclusion of peace with Servia was the last official act of the Grand Vizier who had seemed to be all-powerful in the State.

Midhat Pasha must share with all other advisers of the Porte any blame which may be supposed to attach to the obstinate rejection of the demands of Russia and the advice of England. If he was not a prescient statesman, he might at least claim superiority over the rivals who effected his overthrow. In the government of more than one province he had displayed both administrative ability and a regard for law and justice which is rare in Turkey. In the Vilayet of the Danube

he had proved that it was possible for Mussulmans and Bulgarians to live in peace and to prosper under a firm and honest ruler. He was the principal author of the deposition of Abdul Aziz and of the subsequent removal of Murad. His favourite project of a Constitution framed on a French or Spanish model naturally provoked ridicule and scepticism ; but the Turkish Parliament, when it assembled after the fall of its founder, disappointed to a certain extent the unfavourable anticipations which had been formed ; and it has now begun its second session.

If the Turkish Empire survives the war, it seems not impossible that some form of representation may furnish a check on the abuses and corruption which prevail at Constantinople. The courtiers of the palace had little difficulty in persuading the Sultan that the Minister who had deposed two of his predecessors, and who endeavoured to limit his absolute power, might become formidable to the throne. Early in February the Grand Vizier was suddenly arrested, and immediately afterwards he was banished from the Turkish dominions. There is no reason to suspect Midhat Pasha of the treasonable designs which were suggested in excuse of his dismissal. Contrary to expectation, the Sultan announced the maintenance of the Constitution, though it was openly disregarded in the arrest and exile of Midhat. Edhem Pasha, previously Foreign Minister, became Grand Vizier ; but it is believed that the real power of the Government is exercised by Mahmoud Damad, the brother-in-law and chief favourite of the Sultan. All the disasters which have befallen the Turkish arms are popularly attributed to Mahmoud ; but it seems that his ascendancy has not hitherto been shaken.

Within two or three weeks after the departure of General Ignatieff from Constantinople the Russian Government issued a Circular to its representatives abroad in which the earlier declaration of the Emperor, that he would compel the submission of the Porte with or without the aid of his allies, was reproduced in substance. As it was well known that no other Power was prepared to join in the coercion of Turkey, the Circular was rightly interpreted as a provisional or prospective declaration of war. When the English Parliament met, in the first week of February, Lord Derby expressed a fear that the prevention of a rupture was almost hopeless, though all attempts

at negotiation had not been abandoned. A few days afterwards General Ignatieff arrived in England, having visited Berlin and Paris on his way. After a long discussion General Ignatieff and the resident Russian Ambassador, Count Schouvaloff, arranged with Lord Derby the signature of a protocol, which was so composed as to evade insuperable differences of opinion.

As a further security against possible embarrassment and misunderstanding, Lord Derby appended to the protocol a memorandum, by which the adhesion of the English Government was by anticipation withdrawn, if Russia, after all, declared war. The other Powers assented without difficulty to the vague phrases of the protocol, and hopes were entertained in England not so much that Russia would be satisfied with a compromise as that the mission of General Ignatieff had been suggested by a desire for peace. It is still uncertain whether the Russian Government had any purpose in the negotiation except to gain time. The hope of peace, which had, apparently, not been shared by the Turks, was rudely disappointed. Prince Gortchakoff immediately converted the protocol into an ultimatum by demanding that the Porte should both immediately adopt the recommendations of the Powers, and send an Ambassador to St. Petersburg in token of submission. The Porte refused, and on the 24th of April the Emperor published a declaration of war, and at once directed his armies to cross the frontier both in Europe and Asia. An argumentative protest by Lord Derby against this step could not be expected to have any effect, except in placing on record the opinion of the English Government.

Preparations for invasion had been carefully made during the previous year. A large army had been massed in Bessarabia, in the immediate neighbourhood of the frontier; and the Emperor's brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas, appointed Commander-in-Chief, began to cross the Pruth almost simultaneously with the declaration of war. The army destined to operate in Bulgaria was supposed to consist of 200,000 men, including a large force of cavalry and the due proportion of artillery. Through neglect and malversation many of the battalions were not complete in numbers, and the actual force at the beginning of the campaign has never been accurately ascertained. Although the province of Roumania was theoret-

cally a dependency of Turkey, the invading army found itself in a friendly country between the Pruth and the Danube ; and the reigning Prince, anxious to acquire military renown and an increase of territory, after going through the form of discovering some cause of quarrel with Turkey, eagerly pressed his alliance on Russia. His offers of active co-operation were at first coldly received, but after the early miscarriages of the campaign the aid of the Roumanian army became more than welcome, and Prince Charles, as leader of 40,000 or 50,000 men, has rendered valuable service to his powerful ally. Though the Roumanian infantry are, as might be expected, inferior in tenacity to the Russians and the Turks, their conduct in the first war in which the State has been engaged has done them no discredit. The artillery and cavalry appear to be efficient ; and it is probable that during a part of the campaign the Russians would not have been strong enough to continue offensive operations but for the addition to their numbers which was furnished by Roumania.

For two months after the declaration of war the hostile armies in Europe had not come into collision. Although the Roumanian railways with their rolling stock were at once placed at the disposal of the Russian staff, the transit of troops and stores was necessarily tedious ; and time was required for the provision of magazines and for preparations for crossing the Danube. A daring soldier in command of the Turkish army might have done great service by anticipating the Russian advance. It might not have been impossible to overpower and disarm the whole or part of the Roumanian army ; and the line of railway might certainly have been broken up, with the result of delaying the invasion.

Abdul Kerim, who commanded in chief on the Danube, incurred some suspicion of treachery by his obstinate inaction, until public indignation long afterwards compelled his dismissal. His age and infirmities may, perhaps, afford a sufficient explanation of his ruinous sluggishness. The Russians were not molested during their passage through Roumania ; and they found that the anxiety with which they prepared for the hazardous operation of crossing the Danube was unexpectedly superfluous. Exactly two months after the declaration of war the first Russian troops entered Bulgaria. The preparations in Asia were completed at an earlier date ; and there was there

no strip of neutral territory to be traversed before the hostile armies met. The Russian army assembled at Alexandropol under the Grand Duke Michael, Governor-General of the Caucasus, crossed the Turkish frontier as soon as war was declared, and advanced simultaneously against Kars and Batoum. In the middle of May the fortress of Ardahan surrendered after a feeble resistance, with strong suspicions of corruption and treason on the part of the Governor. General Loris Melikoff, commanding under the Grand Duke, immediately formed the siege of Kars, and with the remainder of his forces he advanced in the direction of Erzeroum.

The command of the Turkish army was entrusted to Mukhtar Pasha, who had in the previous year failed to obtain any considerable success in Montenegro. The present campaign, notwithstanding its disastrous close, has proved him to be a skilful and gallant soldier ; and it is probable that if troops had not been withdrawn from his army to assist in the defence of Bulgaria, he might have finally repelled the Russian invasion. In the month of June the Russian army sustained a severe check at Delibaba, and it was soon afterwards defeated in an attempt to storm a strong Turkish position at Zewin. The Turks recaptured the town of Bayazid and invested the citadel, but the garrison was rescued by a gallant feat of arms of General Tergukassoff, and brought safely across the Russian frontier. In the middle of July the siege of Kars was raised, and almost the whole of Turkish Armenia was evacuated by the Russians. Ismail Pasha, with a force chiefly consisting of his Kurdish countrymen, occupied a position in Russian territory. At an earlier time attacks on the port of Batoum were, with the assistance of the fleet, easily repelled, and a force, partly consisting of Circassians, occupied Soukoum Kalé, with the object of exciting an insurrection in the Caucasus. The diversion probably caused some embarrassment to the Russian Generals, but few of the mountain tribes responded to the appeal ; and eventually the expedition was recalled, after a useless waste of resources which had been urgently needed in other quarters.

During the early autumn the war in Asia languished, and it was thought by many that the campaign had virtually ended for the year ; but in the meantime the Russians were quietly and largely reinforced, while Mukhtar Pasha, lately rewarded

with the title of "Ghazi," had been deprived of some of his best regiments. His position between Kars and the Russian frontier, though strong both by nature and by the defences which had been added, was too extensive for the force at his disposal ; and military critics hold that he ought to have left Kars to its own resources while he kept his main army ready to threaten a besieging force in the rear.

In the first half of October Mukhtar inflicted one serious defeat on the enemy, who afterwards harassed him with daily attacks, for the purpose, according to a competent observer, of killing as many of his men as possible. In their more serious and unsuccessful assault the Russians had for a time occupied a hill in the centre of the Turkish position, which they were unable to retain. They had accomplished a part of their purpose by acquiring accurate knowledge of the ground and of the force with which they had to deal. On the 15th of October General Lazareff turned the position by a flank march skilfully executed, and a direct attack made at the same time resulted in a great and decisive victory. The loss of the Turks in killed and wounded was enormous ; and many thousand men, with numerous officers and seven pashas, surrendered to the Russians. The Grand Duke and his lieutenants seem to have disposed with great judgment of their superior numbers, yet, according to some accounts, their success might have been doubtful but for a panic which seized on a body of Turkish troops who had been ordered up as a reserve.

Mukhtar Pasha, after an obstinate defence, in which his personal gallantry was conspicuous, retreated to Erzeroum, where he was joined by Ismail Pasha. His chance of maintaining his new position depends on the severity of the climate, which renders military operations difficult during the winter ; but by the middle of December the regular siege of Erzeroum began. Kars, accounted the strongest fortress in the Turkish Empire, fell almost without resistance after the retreat of the army. There had been ample time to collect stores and provisions ; and a blockade, though it might have been ultimately successful, would have involved heavy sacrifices on the part of the besiegers. To the general surprise, and not without suspicion of treachery, the place was taken by assault, though the Russian force is said not to have outnumbered the garrison. The open town of Plevna held the Russians in check for five

months; while the great Asiatic fortress scarcely resisted during as many hours.

The campaign in Europe had simultaneously been prosecuted with many vicissitudes of fortune. On the 24th of June a Russian force crossed the Danube, without serious opposition, by two bridges of boats from Ibraila and Galatz. Three days afterwards the main army commenced its passage from Simnitzia, and occupied Sistova, on the right bank of the river. The Turkish Commander-in-Chief scarcely attempted to impede movements which had been regarded as difficult and dangerous experiments. The Turkish gunboats which ought to have commanded the navigation of the Danube were as inefficient as the land forces. Some of them were disabled by the fire of the batteries on the Roumanian shore; and no attempt was made by the remainder to destroy the bridges during construction or after they had been completed. The English officer who nominally commands the Turkish fleet was long detained in Constantinople; and there is reason to believe that his movements have since been hampered by the jealousy of the Ministers. But the command of the sea has secured to the Turkish Government the great advantage of a safe and open communication by way of Varna, while the Russians have been restricted to the more tedious and costly conveyance of troops and stores by road or railway.

The fleet has, in the absence of an enemy at sea, performed no brilliant exploit. Sebastopol and even Odessa were inaccessible; and the Admiral properly declined to bombard undefended towns on the coast. For three weeks after the first passage of the Danube the invading army met with no serious resistance. On the advance of a small body of cavalry from Sistova, a garrison of Turkish infantry fled in disgraceful confusion from Tirnova, and a Civil Government composed chiefly of Bulgarians under a Russian commander was at once established in the provincial capital. An Imperial proclamation addressed in severe terms to the Mussulman population was understood to imply the definitive detachment of Bulgaria from the Turkish Empire.

Immediately after the occupation of Tirnova, General Gourko with a flying column effected the passage of the Balkans by a difficult mountain pass pointed out by a Bulgarian guide. Having descended into the plain, General Gourko,

taking the Shipka Pass in reverse, compelled the Turkish troops which defended the road to fly in confusion. If Gourko had been strongly reinforced, it is possible that he might have maintained himself on the south of the mountains, and even have advanced to Adrianople; but, on the other hand, his expedition could only have been justified by the strange helplessness of the hostile Generals; and an advance on Adrianople in force while the Turkish armies on the Danube were still unbroken would have been a violation of all the rules of war.

No long time elapsed before the Russian Generals were reminded of the danger of despising an enemy. The easy successes of the early campaign ended with the capture of Nicopolis by General Krüdener on the first assault. The possession of the fortress was valuable, as it secured an additional passage over the Danube; but, as the result showed, it would have been prudent first to occupy the town of Plevna and the neighbouring heights.

While the garrison of Nicopolis was engaged in a feeble defence Osman Pasha, marching to the relief of the place, saw the importance of the position which the Russians had overlooked, and, occupying Plevna, he at once began the construction of defences which afterwards grew to the dimensions of a great fortress. Soon after his earthworks were begun the Russians, aware too late of the value of the position, were sharply checked in an attempt to take it by Osman Pasha. About the same time, under the pressure of popular indignation, the Turkish Government dismissed Abdul Kerim and his treacherous or incapable patron, Riza Pasha, Minister of War. Mehemet Ali, a renegade of North German birth, was appointed to command the Eastern army on the Danube, but Osman Pasha at Plevna, and Suleiman Pasha, who was now transferred from Montenegro to Roumelia, were independent of any Commander-in-Chief. The division of authority, which was probably suggested by the jealousies of the Government at Constantinople, has produced its natural result in want of concert and in failure of reciprocal support; but since the dismissal of Abdul Kerim the conduct of the war has not displayed any want of vigour. The simple commissariat which suffices for Turkish armies has been well provided. There has been no deficiency in guns, small arms, or ammuni-

tion ; the Turkish engineers have shown extraordinary skill in the construction of earthworks, and the soldiers retain all their traditional valour.

In spite of the well-founded remonstrances of General Krüdener the Grand Duke Michael and his staff positively ordered a renewal of the assault on Plevna, which had now been provided with strong fortifications. On the 30th of July an attack in force was repelled with heavy loss, and the severity of the blow was proved by the discontinuance of active operations, and by orders for the organisation and despatch to the seat of war of large reinforcements. About the same time Suleiman Pasha, arriving by sea with an army largely reduced in numbers during his barren warfare in Montenegro, compelled General Gourko to retreat into the Shipka Pass, where both armies have, after long struggles, in which the Turks incurred useless sacrifices, maintained their positions. If Suleiman had not at the outset exhibited the usual negligence of Turkish Generals, he might have forced a feeble garrison to evacuate the pass. The arrival of reinforcements baffled his later efforts ; but long afterwards he continued to waste the lives of his men in unsuccessful attacks.

During the month of August the Russians employed themselves in the construction of lines of contravallation in front of Plevna, while a separate army under the command of the Cesarewitch faced Mehemet Ali in a position beyond the river Lom. On the last day of the month the Russians were defeated in combat on the Upper Lom, and the Turks had the advantage in some later skirmishes ; but the Turkish General seems not to have been strong enough to risk a pitched battle with the Cesarewitch, and neither under Mehemet Ali nor under Suleiman, by whom he was afterwards replaced, has the army of the Lom been able to attempt the relief of Plevna, though a few days before the surrender of Osman Pasha Suleiman took Elena, on the road to Tirnova, after a brisk and successful combat.

Having received large reinforcements, and having not taken warning by repeated experience, the Russian staff determined once more to attack Plevna ; and the 11th of September, the Emperor's birthday, was fixed as the date of their anticipated triumph. The Emperor had joined the headquarters before the passage of the Danube ; and he has since remained in the

immediate neighbourhood of the army. A stage was now erected from which the Emperor might see the fall of the Turkish stronghold ; and on the appointed day repeated assaults were directed against the formidable defences. On the left of the attack General Skobeleff, a young and brilliant officer, took three redoubts with the sacrifice of a large part of the force under his command. On the right the large redoubt of Gravitzia was taken late in the evening by surprise after the Emperor had left the field in the belief that the assault had failed. The redoubts occupied by Skobeleff were retaken on the following day. Gravitzia remained in the possession of the Russians and Roumanians ; but the work was commanded by Turkish redoubts in the rear ; and the result of the great battle of the 11th was a conviction that direct assaults on the fortified camp were wholly useless.

In consequence of this defeat, the Imperial Guard were summoned to the seat of war, and General Todleben, who appears previously not to have enjoyed Court favour, was invited to undertake the reduction of Plevna. The famous engineer at once began regular approaches, as if for the purpose of besieging Osman Pasha in form ; but the object of his works was probably to divert the attention of the garrison while preparations were made for a complete investment. Before the last attack on Plevna the Russians had taken Lovatz in the south-east, and they only waited for their expected reinforcements to cut the Turkish communications. From time to time the Turkish army on the Lom made weak demonstrations against the Cesarewitch, while Suleiman still wasted his strength in the Shipka Pass. The only aid which Osman received was forwarded from Sofia by way of Orkhanié, in the form of convoys under the command of the notorious Shefket Pasha. The latest supplies reached Plevna early in November. Soon afterwards General Gourko with a large force of cavalry, supported by a body of the Guards, spread himself across the Sofia road. Dubnik and other Turkish forts were taken, in some cases with heavy loss to the Turks ; and at a later time the capture of Etropol threatened the communication between Sofia and Orkhanié. Mehemet Ali, who had been some time before removed from the command of the army of the Lom, attempted to assemble a force at Sofia for the relief of Plevna ; but before the middle of November Osman

Pasha was, like Bazaine at Metz, entirely shut in by the hostile force, with no chance of succour if the besieging army were able to maintain its position, and with little hope of escape.

It is possible that Osman Pasha may have committed an error in postponing his retreat until it became impossible; but his judgment in occupying Plevna, the skill of his engineers, and his obstinate resistance brought great glory to the Turkish arms. When his provisions were all but exhausted he still disdained a surrender which might have seemed inevitable. On the 10th of December he crossed with his whole force to the left bank of the Vid; and on the next morning at early dawn he precipitated himself on the enemy's works, in the hope of cutting his way to Widin. Demonstrations were simultaneously made at different parts of the line, and it is possible that a portion of his army might have escaped if a deserter had not during the night brought intelligence to the Russians that the works on the eastern front were abandoned. The positions beyond the Vid were immediately reinforced, and after a desperate struggle, in which heavy losses were incurred on both sides, the Turks were forced to desist from their enterprise. Osman Pasha, who had himself been wounded, then attempted to re-enter his fortifications, but he found them in possession of Russian and Roumanian troops, which had followed close in his rear. After a contest which worthily ended a heroic defence, Osman was at last compelled to surrender at discretion. The guns and all the remaining stores necessarily fell into the hands of the victor; and 100,000 men were released for the ulterior operations of the war. The Emperor of Russia, who had received his gallant prisoner with honourable and well-deserved courtesy, now thought himself at liberty to return to St. Petersburg, having probably arranged with his Generals the future operations of the campaign.

During the great events of the campaign the obscure struggle in Montenegro and the adjacent Turkish Provinces has not excited much attention. The insurgents in Bosnia and Herzegovina have made little effort, knowing, perhaps, that their fate will depend on the general result of the war rather than on their local exertions. The withdrawal of Suleiman Pasha and his army enabled the Prince of Montenegro to take Nicksich, and to occupy some neighbouring territory. The Mirdites have taken the opportunity of withdrawing from the Porte their

doubtful allegiance, and some Albanian tribes have threatened disturbances. The Christian inhabitants of Crete have been preparing to take up arms, but probably their conduct will be regulated by the policy of Greece. Within three or four days after the fall of Plevna Servia declared war, and about the same time the Foreign Minister of the Porte attempted to open negotiations for peace by overtures addressed to the English and French ambassadors.

In the midst of arms diplomacy is, like law, ordinarily suspended. No aid has been given to either belligerent in contravention of the rules of neutrality by any Power. It is understood that the German Emperor cordially sympathises with Russia, and the policy of his Government apparently agrees with his personal feelings. The Italian Government also is believed to incline to the cause of Russia, for reasons which are not fully understood. Austria has not been influenced in action by the jealousy which might have been provoked by the prospect of Russian victories in Turkey. The Court of Vienna and the military aristocracy are supposed to favour Russia. In Hungary the popular feeling of the Magyars is unanimously adverse to Russia; but in both divisions of the Monarchy responsible politicians of all parties approve the neutrality which the Government has maintained. The national divisions which exist in Austria and Hungary and the risk of a breach of friendly relations with Germany sufficiently account for the expectant policy which the Austro-Hungarian Chancellor, himself a Magyar, has uniformly maintained.

The Government of Athens, though it is believed to have felt little sympathy with the Slavonic movement, has prepared to assert its claims to a share in the spoil if the Turkish Empire is broken up by the war. Early in the year a Cabinet was formed by a coalition of all leaders of parties, under the Presidency of the celebrated Canaris, who formerly contributed by his naval exploits to the independence of Greece. His death a few months afterwards has had no effect in disturbing the concert of parties, which will probably last as long as the crisis in Turkey. The Greeks of Constantinople appear to deprecate Russian conquest; but if the Government of Athens determines on war, it will probably be seconded by insurrections in Thessaly, Epirus, and Crete.

The neutrality adopted from the first by the English

Government has been prospectively defined and limited by a despatch of Lord Derby's, nearly identical in terms with Mr. Cross's speech. Before the war began overtures are supposed to have been made by the German Government for an understanding, which would have included the acquisition of Egypt by England. If the proposal was made, the English Government could not but decline a scheme which would have begun with a partition of the Turkish Empire. The Government of Marshal MacMahon, sufficiently occupied with domestic difficulties, has exhibited no active interest in the affairs of the East. The diplomatic complications which must precede and attend the conclusion of the war will be sufficiently embarrassing. Negotiation has hitherto been premature, while it was still impossible to measure the forces which it is the main business of diplomacy to ascertain and recognise.

The Continental States, with the exception of France, have furnished scanty materials for domestic history. In the German Empire there are indications of future political contests, when the long ascendancy of Prince Bismarck is hereafter removed. In the election of the German Parliament at the beginning of the year the Socialists won several seats from the Progressist or Advanced Liberal Party. The Ultramontanes, who are not less hostile to the present Government, also increased their numbers. The National Liberals, who have since 1866 been Prince Bismarck's steadiest supporters, have lately displayed symptoms of dissatisfaction with the slow progress of national measures of reform. Soon after the opening of the session Prince Bismarck tendered his resignation on the conventional pretext of his health, and accepted a prolonged leave of absence, which has not interfered with his continued direction of the policy of the Government. His colleague, Count Eulenberg, having, without the authority of the Prime Minister, proposed in the Prussian Parliament a Municipal Bill to satisfy the discontented Liberals, was required to take leave of absence as the alternative of resignation. The continued stagnation of trade has furnished German producers with a welcome excuse for demanding higher duties on foreign imports, to be imposed by the Commercial Treaties which are now under discussion. Their reactionary proposals are to a certain extent countenanced by Prince Bismarck, with the result of having prevented or delayed the adoption of a Commercial Treaty with Austria.

The recent Ministerial crisis in Italy had been for some time anticipated in consequence of the declining popularity of Signor Nicotera and his colleagues. A certain amount of local excitement has been produced by the success of several noble and princely candidates in the Municipal Elections for Rome. It has given rise to a hope that, in the process of contending for ecclesiastical privileges, the heads of the great families may gradually accustom themselves to the new political system which they are supposed to recognise by their nomination. It is undoubtedly a misfortune that in Italy, as in other Democratic countries, rank and property operate as disqualifications for public employment. The prospect of an early Papal election naturally causes greater curiosity and interest in Italy than in countries less immediately concerned with the claims of the Vatican. Some uneasiness was felt when the French clergy, in obedience to instructions from Rome, supported a Government which was erroneously supposed to meditate a possible restoration of the Temporal Power; and the election of a prudent and moderate Pope would abate political irritation and social discord. The end of the present Pontificate is believed to be rapidly approaching. Pope Pius's successor may, perhaps, avoid the errors of judgment which Pope Pius has committed; but he will not inherit the compassionate respect which attends the misfortunes and the venerable age of the last Pope who will have been also a King. A newly-elected Pope can scarcely affect the character of a prisoner in the Vatican.

Perfect tranquillity has afforded the Spanish Government leisure to engage in measures for impeding commercial intercourse with England. Differential duties have been imposed on English imports as compared with those of Belgium, of Germany, and of some other countries; and it appears that, although trade is exposed to no corresponding disability in England, Spanish doubts have arisen whether existing treaties provide for the admission of English produce on the terms allowed to the most favoured nation. The object of the Spanish Government is to compel the abolition of Mr. Gladstone's alcoholic test, which imposes a heavier duty on the strong wines of Spain than on the light wines of France. The merits of the question have long been the subject of controversy; but it is evident that the test imposes no differential duty on articles of the same description.

A political contest in France has raised issues which in former times would have been decided by a revolution ; but the majority of the constituencies and the Chamber remained serenely confident of ultimate success by peaceful methods, and the Government which rashly provoked the struggle has shrunk from lawless violence. M. Jules Simon, who succeeded M. Dufaure as President of the Council soon after the opening of the Legislature elected under the Constitution, received a qualified support from the Republican Party, though M. Gambetta, and not the Minister, was regarded as the real leader of the Majority. On the important question whether the Senate could revise the Estimates, M. Simon, with the aid of the Conservatives, defeated his rival. The analogy of English practice carried little weight with a Chamber which was in no way bound by foreign precedents. The Senate under the Constitution seems as far to transcend the House of Lords in legal attributes as it falls below it in social and political weight. The Republicans had by a temporary coalition with the Legitimists and Bonapartists excluded from the Senate the bulk of the Moderate or Constitutional party, but a small Conservative majority gradually increased its strength by filling up casual vacancies, and the Senate gradually attracted the confidence of those who distrusted the Republican Chamber.

Marshal MacMahon appears to have been irritated by the influence which M. Gambetta exercised over the policy of the Ministers ; but the Government had neither made any material concession to the Republicans nor had it incurred a Parliamentary defeat. All parties, except a few reactionary politicians who may have been privy to the secret, were astonished when, on the 16th of May, the President of the Republic addressed to M. Jules Simon a peremptory letter of reproof, which at once enforced his resignation. The advisers of a wanton and dangerous measure have not been disclosed. The Duc de Broglie, though he became responsible for the dismissal of his predecessors by accepting the Presidency of the Council, is believed not to have shared in the previous deliberations. M. de Fourtou, a well-known administrative officer under the Empire, became Minister of the Interior ; the Duc Decazes remained at the Foreign Office, and General Berthaut retained his post as Minister of War. The Chamber was immediately prorogued,

and the Senate, by a small majority, resolved to exercise a power conferred by the Constitution by concurring with the President of the Republic in a dissolution.

Marshal MacMahon probably believed a statement, which formed the substance of a proclamation, that the voters had been misled by the use of his name at the elections, and that a majority in the new Chamber would answer favourably his appeal to the country. His new Ministers, whether or not they shared the Marshal's opinions, were resolved to leave nothing to chance. M. de Fourtou had probably been selected on account of his familiarity with the conduct of elections in the days of Napoleon III., and he improved on the precedents of official interference. Many of the prefects and subordinate officers were replaced by zealous partisans; and the agents of the Government were instructed to use every effort to obtain a majority.

The bishops and clergy, in their zeal against the Republic, scarcely needed the directions which were issued in the name of the Pope to use all their influence in support of the Government candidates; but their authority in the rural districts is greatly impaired, and in the towns they increase the unpopularity of the cause which they support. The Orleanists have no considerable following in the constituencies, although they still form a powerful party among the upper and middle classes. The Legitimists have a hold only on isolated districts, and the Bonapartists, who are more formidable enemies of the Republic, were induced with difficulty to maintain a hesitating alliance with the other sections of the Conservative party.

Before the elections Marshal MacMahon undertook a journey through several Departments; but, although he was generally received with courtesy, his presence excited no enthusiasm, and more than one Municipal Council refused to vote funds for his ceremonial reception. In every arrondissement where there was a chance of success official candidates were presented to the electors, and the whole force of the administrative machinery was exerted to defeat opposition. The usual methods of intimidating and thwarting hostile electors were everywhere practised. Impediments were offered to the circulation of Liberal or Republican journals, frivolous charges were preferred against obnoxious politicians, and the Government committed the strange blunder of prosecuting M. Gambetta for a speech in which he

had declared that on the meeting of the Chamber the Marshal must either submit or resign.

The result of the elections was a gain to the Government of 50 votes ; but the reduction of the former majority from 170 to 120 left the Republicans and their leaders in full control of the Chamber. Marshal MacMahon and M. de Fourtou had overlooked an essential distinction between the present state of things and the system which prevailed under the Empire. In former times a prefect who satisfied his superiors was certain to retain his office, with the power of annoying electors who might have resisted his dictation. M. de Fourtou's prefects could only hold office while the Conservatives were in power, and their Republican successors will reverse their measures. The active intervention of the Executive Government in elections accords with the tradition of all parties in France, though it shocks insular susceptibilities ; but M. de Fourtou had exceeded the licence of almost all his predecessors, and, above all, he failed. A Ministerial majority would have condoned the excesses of zealous agents ; the Republicans have now the opportunity of invalidating the elections of their adversaries.

On the meeting of the Chamber M. Gambetta and his party maintained a prudent reserve, while the Ministers first tried their strength in the Senate. In that body the balance of power is held by the few Constitutional politicians, or former Orleanists, whom the Republicans of the National Assembly had failed to exclude. The Duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier, President of the Senate, who may be regarded as the leader of the party in that House, rejected more than one motion which was suggested by the Ministers ; but at last the Duc de Broglie succeeded in persuading the Senate to adopt a colourless Order of the Day, which purported to affirm the Constitutional equality of the Senate with the Chamber. Immediately afterwards the Ministers resigned, and the Marshal appointed a so-called Cabinet of Business, of which not a single member had a seat in either branch of the Legislature. Neither the letter of the Constitution nor the practice of French administration requires that every Minister should be either a Senator or a Representative, but the spirit of Parliamentary government implies that a Cabinet should include some of the leaders of one or other party ; and it is obviously impossible to distinguish between ordinary business and politics. The Chamber so far departed

from its attitude of reserve as to declare by a formal vote that it would hold no intercourse with the Cabinet.

From the first issue of the Marshal's imprudent challenge the discipline and the prudence of the Republicans have been perfect. The cause of the party was nowhere endangered by a double canvass, and the members of the majority in the dissolved Chamber were by general consent supported with the whole strength of the Left. Moderate politicians who would have preferred Constitutional monarchy were not found to waver in their support of the Republic; and the extreme section of the party suspended their avowal of alarming doctrines. The Marshal and his advisers had, in fact, adopted the only course which could have produced unanimity among the Republicans. Hopes of an amicable adjustment were encouraged by interviews between the Marshal and the Presidents of the Senate and the Chamber. M. Grévy was understood to have urged in friendly language the necessity of accepting the decision of the constituencies; and still greater weight might have been expected to attach to similar language when it was used by the representative of the Constitutional party in the Senate.

The only satisfactory assurance which could be extracted from the President of the Republic was a declaration that he had never meditated any act of violence against the Chamber. Some days afterwards he alleged, in an official memorandum, that the Republican party had required, as a condition of granting the supplies, a modification of the Constitution, by which the consent of two-thirds of the Senate should be required for the dissolution of the Chamber. The statement, which must have been founded on some misunderstanding, was strongly resented by the Left, and the Committee on the Budget formally declined to present a report until a Parliamentary Ministry was formed. The proceeding would have been irregular according to English Parliamentary rules, but the moderation and prudence of the Republican leaders afford a guarantee against errors of form, which they are not tempted to commit when both right and strength are on their side.

When it was almost too late the Marshal at last invited M. Dufaure to form a Government. It is strange that his advisers should not have made an earlier attempt to conciliate the moderate Republicans. A preliminary negotiation broke off in

consequence of restrictions imposed by the Marshal on M. Dufaure's free selection of the members of the proposed Cabinet; but at last all difficulties were overcome by the unconditional surrender of the Marshal. A new Ministry was formed under the presidency of M. Dufaure, with M. Léon Say as Minister of Finance, and the Protestant M. Waddington at the Foreign Office. The Chamber at once voted the supplies, which had been provisionally withheld, and all sections of the Republican party acquiesce in the choice of a Government which is at the same time moderate and sincerely attached to the Constitution.

The Republicans can afford to dispense with the advantage which they formerly derived from the fame and popularity of their most eminent leader. Threats of the resignation of the President of the Republic had no tendency to produce alarm as long as M. Thiers was regarded as his inevitable successor. His force of intellect and character seemed to be unaffected by age, nor was there reason to suppose that he had renounced ambitious hopes. His death, at the age of eighty, not preceded by illness or decay, caused the same sense of an unexpected void which ordinarily attends the interruption of a political career in the prime of life. The event, though it was natural and probable, had the effect of a surprise in disturbing the calculations of friends and opponents.

After the death of M. Guizot, who was a few years older, and who had retired long since from political life, M. Thiers was by far the most conspicuous of living Frenchmen. At an early age he had laid the foundations of his literary success; he took an active part in the Revolution of 1830; and soon afterwards he obtained the highest official rank. After the overthrow of Constitutional monarchy he became the chief leader of the Conservative party in the National Assembly, and he was at one time the confidential adviser of the President. He was, according to his own account, the chief author of the restoration by French arms of the Pope's Temporal Power, preferring, as he said, the triumph of French influence to a hundred Constitutions and a hundred religions. When Louis Napoleon seized supreme power, he paid M. Thiers the compliment of arresting him as a possibly dangerous adversary, and the act of violence was not regarded as an affront, though M. Thiers refused to serve a Government which was virtually absolute. While the Empire flourished M. Thiers employed his involuntary

leisure in the continuation of the brilliant history which had already, more than any other cause, rendered the name and policy of Napoleon objects of fanatical admiration in France. When, after a long interval, the Emperor began to relax his hold on the reigns of government, M. Thiers conducted almost alone a Parliamentary Opposition which gradually shook the fabric of the Empire. His denunciation of the policy which had permitted Italy and Germany to attain union and strength impaired the popularity of Napoleon III. and influenced his judgment. The fatal determination which led to the disaster of Sedan was probably in some degree caused by a desire to repel the taunts of the most formidable of critics ; but M. Thiers openly disapproved the war not because it was unjust, but because he knew that the army was inadequate to its task. In the misfortunes which followed, M. Thiers, after declining a place in the Government of Defence, earned the gratitude of his countrymen by a journey undertaken for the purpose of soliciting aid from all the Governments of Europe in succession.

When Paris fell and further resistance had become hopeless, M. Thiers was designated by the choice of forty or fifty constituencies, and by the unanimous opinion of France, as the Chief of the Government and the manager of the negotiations with the conqueror. Although he was through life obstinately ignorant of economic principles, the confidence which he inspired enabled his Government to borrow the vast sums which were to be paid as compensation to Germany ; and the evacuation of the territory was accomplished before the date which had been previously fixed. His authority for a time overruled the desire of the National Assembly for a Government which should show a stronger inclination to restore the Monarchy ; but in 1873, when the great task of liberating the territory had been achieved, the resignation which he had often tendered as a menace was at last accepted.

During the remaining years of his life he occupied a private station, for his age and dignity would scarcely have allowed him to intervene frequently in debate. He had never been so popular as in the latest stage of his long career. With all his defects, and notwithstanding his many prejudices, he was through life consistently devoted to the interests of France, and his deliberate adherence to the Republic at last conciliated the classes which he had often thwarted and offended. His rigorous

suppression of the rebellion of the Commune was pardoned by the Paris artisans when they found that he was the most powerful opponent of a Bourbon or Bonapartist restoration. His memory stands apart in the obituary of the year, which includes no other name of the first or second political rank. M. Lanfrey, whom M. Thiers had generously employed in a high diplomatic post though he had won his reputation by exposing the errors of *The History of the Consulate and the Empire*, was eminent only as a man of letters. M. Leverrier was regarded as one of the first among European astronomers. General Changarnier distinguished himself in the African campaign of thirty years ago ; after the Revolution of 1848 he failed to protect the Assembly against the designs of the President ; in his old age he earned public gratitude by joining the army at Metz when the fortunes of his country were already desperate.

The most important event of the year in the United States was the settlement by an elaborate contrivance of the disputed Presidential election. The Democratic candidates, Mr. Tilden and Mr. Hendricks, had obtained a large majority of the whole number of votes, but the number of Presidential electors representing the several States was almost equally balanced, and the result depended on the admission or rejection of the votes of Louisiana and South Carolina. In both States partisan returning Boards, appointed by Republican Legislatures, were accused of falsifying the returns, and the Democrats demanded an investigation, while the Republicans contended that by the Constitution the certificate of the Governor of a State was final and conclusive. It was difficult to anticipate any mode of peaceful settlement ; but the common sense and political aptitude of the American people justified the general confidence that by some means an escape would be devised from an apparently hopeless dead-lock.

After much deliberation the Senate and the House of Representatives agreed on the appointment of a Commission which should propose to Congress a solution of the difficulty. The body was composed of five members of either branch of the Legislature and of five judges of the Supreme Court. The arrangement was supposed to be favourable to the Democrats, but their hopes were at the last moment disappointed by the removal of a Democratic judge and by the appointment of a

Republican successor. Although the functions of the Commission were ostensibly judicial, senators, representatives, and judges voted on every question in strict accordance with party interests. A majority of one determined that Congress could not inquire into the credentials of a Presidential Elector, and Congress wisely accepted a recommendation which was, perhaps, consistent with the letter of the Constitution, and which at least settled the disputed election. Accordingly, Mr. Hayes and Mr. Wheeler, the Republican candidates, were declared to be elected by 184 Presidential votes to 183.

On his assumption of office at the beginning of March Mr. Hayes at once proceeded to execute the measures of conciliation which he had previously announced. The Federal troops were withdrawn from New Orleans, and General Wade Hampton, the Democratic candidate, was recognised as Governor of South Carolina. The President was welcomed with enthusiasm on a visit to two or three of the Southern States ; and his adherents allege that the whole of the former Confederation is now for the first time heartily reconciled to the Union. The White population has now resumed its supremacy in all parts of the South. Discontented Republicans complain, as might be expected, that the interests of the coloured people have been sacrificed. A division in the ranks of the party arises, perhaps, in greater measure from a division of opinion on the proposed reform of the Civil Service. In a circular issued soon after his accession, the President prohibited paid Federal officers from taking part in elections, except by recording their votes. As the whole system of party organisation depends mainly on the personal and pecuniary efforts of actual or expectant officeholders, many leading Republicans naturally disapproved the attempt to substitute a neutral and permanent body of Civil servants for official managers of elections. Mr. Conkling, Senator for New York, induced a Convention of his State to censure the policy of the President ; a late election in Ohio, to which State both the President and the Secretary of the Treasury belong, has been carried by the Democrats ; and the President's nominations to certain offices in the New York Custom House have been rejected by the Senate.

The balance of parties is further deranged by the organisation of a so-called Party of Labour, which resembles a trades' union on a gigantic scale. The labour agitation had in the

course of the summer produced alarming results. The men employed on the railways in Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and some neighbouring States suddenly interrupted the traffic, and gave an opportunity to the rabble of Baltimore, of Pittsburg, and of other towns to destroy a large quantity of rolling stock and of other property. The State and Federal authorities displayed commendable vigour, but in some places the Militia, either through cowardice or in sympathy with the rioters, refused to perform its duty. All the Federal troops within reach were at once employed against the insurgents, and in the course of a few weeks the disturbances were suppressed. The wild demands of the rioters have since been repeated by demagogues for election purposes, and the new party hopes to apply the powers conferred by universal suffrage for the benefit of labour at the expense of capital. Experience has hitherto shown that in the United States combinations outside of the two great parties are destined only to an ephemeral existence.

The commercial prospects of America seem to be improving, and perhaps the balance of public opinion is in favour of maintaining the law which provides for the resumption of specie payments at the beginning of 1879 ; but the question is complicated by a movement for the admission of silver coin as a legal tender in the interest of the mine-owners of Nevada, and for the purpose of paying the National Debt in a depreciated currency. The House of Representatives, in which the Democrats have a majority, has voted for the repeal of the Resumption Act and for the remonetisation of silver ; but the Senate has not yet given a decision, and the President has expressed the intention of interposing his veto on measures for postponing resumption or tampering, by the establishment of a double standard of value, with the national credit. The Mixed Commission on the Fisheries, constituted under the Treaty of Washington, has lately published an award, by which compensation of a million sterling is given to Canada, which had claimed a much larger amount. The American Commissioner has, unfortunately, refused to concur in the award ; and it is found that, by a culpable oversight, the negotiations of the Treaty had not provided, as in the *Alabama* case, that the decision of the majority should be binding. It is not yet known whether the American Government will raise a technical objection to the award.

Except during the railway strike, the general tranquillity

has only been locally and superficially ruffled by petty conflicts with discontented Indian tribes, and by the depredations of Mexican marauders on the frontier of Texas. Another revolution in Mexico has resulted in the establishment of one Diaz as President, and probably his title will be recognised by the Government of the United States if he can furnish securities against the renewal of outrages on the Rio Grande. Since the abolition of slavery the American desire of territorial aggrandisement has subsided ; nor is any political party desirous of admitting half-civilised aliens from Mexico or Cuba to a share in the national sovereignty.

Englishmen are, perhaps, still more peaceably disposed than Americans ; but in the wide extent of the Indian and Colonial Empire it is impossible to avoid occasional collisions with bordering tribes. In South Africa it has also been found necessary to interfere with a neighbouring community of European blood. The independence of the Republic of Transvaal, founded a quarter of a century ago by Dutch emigrants from the colony, had been recognised and afterwards respected by the English Government ; but collisions between the people of the Transvaal and the Caffres always involved a danger of a general native war, and in the course of last year the levies of the Republic had been defeated in a contest with a neighbouring chief.

It appeared from the official statements of Mr. Burgers, President of the Republic, that the Government was unable either to provide for the defence of the territory or to maintain internal order. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, an officer of great experience in dealing both with native tribes and with colonists in South Africa, was despatched by Lord Carnarvon to the Transvaal with a large discretionary power, extending in certain specified contingencies to the assumption of the government. The Commissioner, arriving at the seat of government in advance of a small body of troops which had been placed at his disposal, found the state of affairs so alarming that he at once determined on adding the Transvaal to the dominions of the Crown, and his decision was afterwards approved by the Colonial Office. The Dutch inhabitants of the territory seem not to have been dissatisfied with the measure, which was naturally acceptable to the English residents. The powerful King of the Zulus, who had threatened an invasion of the Transvaal, has

thought it prudent to avoid a collision with the Imperial and Colonial Governments, and on the whole the annexation seems to have produced advantageous results. In a distant part of South Africa petty hostilities, provoked by Kreli, Chief of the Galekas, or his advisers, have ended in his defeat, and in his deposition by Sir Bartle Frere, now Governor of the Cape. The project of federation has not yet been carried into effect, but Lord Carnarvon's policy is believed to increase in popularity, and the acquisition of the Transvaal will, perhaps, diminish the impediments to union. So far, however, as Africa is concerned, the arrival of Mr. H. M. Stanley at the Cape, after his marvellous journey across the Continent, has dwarfed the interest felt either in a Galeka outbreak or in a South African Confederation.

In India there has been a petty border war with the Jowakis, a predatory mountain tribe on the North-West frontier. In the early part of the year, on the invitation of the Khan of Khelat, an English officer with a considerable escort was sent to reside at Quettah, and perhaps the measure may have caused irritation and alarm among the neighbouring tribes. At the date of the latest accounts the operations of the English forces had been successful, but the objects of the expedition had not been fully attained.

The gorgeous ceremony attending the proclamation at Delhi of the Queen's assumption of the title of Empress of India produced no political effect. Indian statesmen were even at the time preoccupied by the anticipation of the famine which has since extended with frightful severity over a great part of the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, and over some of the adjacent native States. The efforts of the Supreme and Local Governments to relieve the wants of the people have been unceasing ; but the deaths from the direct or indirect consequences of want of food are estimated at hundreds of thousands ; and the health of many of the survivors must have been permanently affected. A subscription in England for the relief of Indian distress amounted to nearly half a million, and the liberality of the contributors was not exhausted when the Indian authorities announced that the necessity for aid no longer existed. Copious autumn rains removed all apprehension of a second season of famine ; and the pressure on the resources of the Government rapidly diminishes.

Two celebrated Eastern potentates have died within the year. Jung Bahadoor, nominally Minister and really Sovereign of Nepaul, had long since attained his position by unscrupulous vigour in removing rivals from his path. While he excluded Europeans from his country, he pursued a friendly policy to the English Government, and during the Mutiny he rendered useful service. At the time of his death he was preparing for a second visit to England. Little is known of the character of his brother, who has succeeded to his power.

The death of Yakoob Beg of Kashgar may probably be followed by dynastic and territorial changes in the remote East. Like many Eastern potentates, Yakoob had been a soldier of fortune before he superseded the chief whom he had served. Alone among the Mahomedan rulers of provinces formerly belonging to China, Yakoob Beg, otherwise known as the Atalik Ghazi, had maintained an independence which was threatened both from the east and the west. He had during his reign avoided collision with his Russian neighbours in Central Asia; but it is doubtful whether he would have been able permanently to resist the steady progress of great Chinese armies, which will probably restore the former frontiers of the Empire. The inheritance of Yakoob Beg has already caused broils and revolutions among the claimants of the succession, and the kingdom which he formed is not likely to endure.

No events of especial interest have occurred at home since the close of the session, though Lord Hartington, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Chamberlain have exerted themselves to promote the organisation of the Liberal party. Public speakers, though they may have deliberately preferred domestic topics, still veer round by a necessary attraction to the subject which still engrosses universal attention. Although discussion can exercise no influence on the fortunes of war, it is found impossible to discuss anything else. The one domestic event of importance is the promise, supposed to be contained in the recent announcement of the meeting of Parliament on the 17th of January, that this discussion will be continued.

## 1878

THE year which expired on Tuesday has been remarkable for a strain of prolonged anxiety, from which the national mind has not yet been altogether relieved. Though the public apprehensions have not been realised, it appeared more than once well-nigh impossible to escape either a general war in Europe or a commercial crisis at home. Peace, however, has been maintained among the Great Powers. No panic, like that of "Black Friday," has given a shock to the fabric of English business. Nevertheless, we have gone so close to the edge of danger in both directions that, as we look back on the events of the past twelve months, we feel, in spite of some present difficulties, that we have much reason for thankfulness and for confidence. Party spirit has not been inactive, but the rivalry between the Ministry and the Opposition has been controlled by the overwhelming interest of the country in foreign affairs. Legislation has been stunted by the shadows of war and diplomacy. The expiring pangs of the Ottoman resistance were eagerly watched ; the rising pretensions of Russia revealed in the Treaty of San Stefano were indignantly repelled ; the vicissitudes of negotiation were vigilantly followed, with a full knowledge of the fact that failure to secure by peaceful means the interests and honour of England would force us into an arduous contest.

The Government had no cause to complain that the national temper did not give them steady support. The position taken up by England produced a visible change in the opinion of other States. The elements of a permanent understanding were slowly compacted together, and the Treaty of Berlin solemnly confirmed a new European concert, in which England had a chief share. The patience and public spirit of the country were

still further tried by the difficulties which have impeded the execution of the treaty, and scarcely had these begun to clear away when troubles gathered ominously on our Indian frontiers. The Afghan Expedition has been approved by Parliament and the country for the same reasons as those which prevailed during the European crisis. The Government has received this support in spite of many untoward influences.

The depression of trade which has been deplored for the past four years has not been removed ; it has sunk, indeed, to a lower level than before. Fortunately, a good harvest and plentiful supplies from all foreign countries have kept down the price of bread, and bad trade has so far profited the consumer that all the necessaries of life have been cheaper than they were in prosperous times. If it were not for this mitigation the effect of repeated reductions in the rate of wages, ineffectually opposed by strikes, of withdrawals of capital, of bankruptcies and liquidations, of banking disasters, of alarms in the Money-market, of Ministerial embarrassments in finance, and of augmented taxation, actual or prospective, would have been far more severely felt. As it was, in spite of some distress and consequent discontent throughout the country, the Poor Law returns showed no extraordinary increase of pauperism until the last few weeks of the year, when the hard weather and the want of employment combined to cause widespread suffering.

In the early part of 1878, as in 1877, there was a difficulty in finding remunerative employment for capital ; the bank rate of discount was lowered in January from 4 to 3, and afterwards to 2 per cent, and did not again touch 4 per cent until August, when a drain of bullion was feared. Still later the Glasgow Bank failure compelled another precautionary rise, but within the past month, notwithstanding prevalent uneasiness, it has been thought safe to maintain the bank rate at 5 per cent. The fluctuations in the ordinary commercial terms for the use of money were much wider.

The conflicts between labour and capital begun last year were prolonged and embittered. The London masons' strike was not ended until the middle of March, and a few weeks later came the great "turn-out" of the cotton operatives in Blackburn and other North Lancashire towns, as well as riots in the Scotch mining districts. The disturbances at Blackburn which followed the refusal of the Masters' Association to submit the proposed

reduction of wages to the judgment of Lord Derby and two other arbitrators culminated in the sacking and burning of Colonel Raynsford Jackson's house. For a week or so the gravest anxiety prevailed, but the excitement soon abated, and after ineffectual negotiations the men succumbed. In the autumn another strike at Oldham originated in another reduction of wages. But in general the workmen have learned to submit without violent resistance, and to recognise the fact that capitalists find it difficult to maintain their enterprises at all. The depression of trade, the lack of employment, and the generally unprosperous state of the community have been demonstrated by the falling off in the revenue and by the failures of large financial concerns. The fall of prices in the autumn and the accumulation of cash reserves to meet a possible panic raised the demand for money and lowered the value of all public securities.

The Government funds, however, have been maintained at a much higher average than in 1872-73. Sir Stafford Northcote calculated in April that the increased income-tax and tobacco duty would give him the means of meeting a fair proportion of the deficiency on the ordinary revenue, the Exchequer Bonds issued for the vote of credit in the spring, and the supplementary estimates, which he computed at a million. But the supplementary estimates mounted up to three millions and three-quarters, including an estimate of £400,000 for the South African War expenses, which will hardly suffice to cover the cost of the operations in Natal as well as those in Caffraria. The sum of a million and a half which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to carry over to next year is thus increased to not less than two millions and three-quarters, even if the receipts of revenue should come up to his anticipations. Unfortunately, the returns for the first half-year proved that the Customs, Excise, and Stamps, taken together, instead of showing the increase of £260,000 on which Sir S. Northcote had reckoned, had declined by £320,000. It seems scarcely possible to retrieve this loss during the winter months and in the present state of trade. There is, happily, reason to believe that the danger of panic, which appeared inevitable when the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank and of the firms dependent upon it was followed by similar though less widespread ruin in the west of England and in Rochdale, has now passed away. Caution has

prepared for the worst, and confidence, it may be hoped, is gradually reviving. Still, so doubtful is the prospect that our hopes must be rather negative than positive.

While such has been our social and economical condition at home, no great legislative changes were possible, even if foreign policy had not overshadowed all other interests. The session, though it began a fortnight earlier and ended a few days later than usual, was singularly barren of important measures. The Factories and Workshops Act, the Cattle Diseases Act, the Highways Act, the Bishoprics Act, were placed upon the Statute Book. The Irish members were pacified with the Intermediate Education Act, and the Scotch with the Roads and Bridges Act.

But the energies of Parliament were directed almost exclusively to the important questions arising out of our foreign relations and to the party conflicts which turned upon them. At the beginning of the year it became evident that the Turkish resistance was failing. The Russians were advancing under General Gourko, commanding the Imperial Guard, upon Sofia, and were also pressing upon the Turkish army in the Central Balkans. On the 3rd of January Sofia surrendered. In the following week General Mirsky and General Skobeleff penetrated the Balkans by the Trojan Pass, and occupied Kezanlik. General Radetzky held a strong position to the north of the mountains, and the Turks, finding themselves shut up in the Shipka Pass between Radetzky's troops and those of Mirsky and Skobeleff, after a fruitless struggle laid down their arms. These victories were achieved in the midst of a severe winter ; they redeemed the somewhat tarnished credit of Russian generalship, and testified once more to the stubborn valour of the Russian soldiery. The Turks, too, fought well, but the shadow of defeat hung over them. The Government at Constantinople sent proposals for an armistice to the headquarters of the Grand Duke Nicholas, which were received with grim and mysterious silence. In the meantime the Russian armies were steadily advancing on Philippopolis and Adrianople.

Such was the situation when Parliament met on the 17th of January. The assembling of the Houses at a date so unusually early had given rise to many disquieting rumours. The Speech from the Throne contained a significant statement "that should hostilities unfortunately be prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on Her Majesty to adopt measures

of precaution." While Parliament was still debating these vague generalities, rumours were growing that the Russian terms, still kept profoundly secret, were dangerously exorbitant, that the Russian troops were threatening not only the positions around Constantinople, but Gallipoli and the freedom of the Straits, that wild disorder and hopeless anarchy were impending in the Sultan's capital, that a flight to Broussa was deliberately contemplated by Abdul Hamid and his Ministers, that the British fleet had been ordered to the Dardanelles. How far these alarming reports were false or true no one could tell, but that the crisis was a grave one was made evident by the retirement of two Cabinet Ministers, Lord Carnarvon and Lord Derby. The latter, however, as it appeared afterwards, withdrew his resignation.

Public suspense was to some extent relieved when the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 28th of January moved in the House of Commons for a vote of credit of £6,000,000 to strengthen the army and navy. He referred to the rumoured conditions of peace as revolutionary in their character and inadmissible without the sanction of the European Powers, and he asked for the confidence of Parliament as necessary to make the Government powerful in the Conference which was to settle the definitive treaty. The publication of the preliminaries signed at Kezanlik and the resolute attitude of resistance assumed by Austria greatly strengthened the Ministry. The Opposition challenged the vote of credit, and an amendment, moved by Mr. Forster, was supported in debate by the chiefs of the Liberal party. On the 7th of February a telegram received from the British Embassy at Constantinople was read in the House, to the effect that the Russians, in spite of the armistice which had been concluded, were pushing forward suspiciously, and that the Turks were in a state of panic. Mr. Forster, supported by Lord Hartington, withdrew his motion, and only a minority of ninety-six, headed by Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Fawcett, voted against the Government. Confidence was not immediately restored by the assurances of Count Schouvaloff that no harm was meant, and that orders had been sent to the Generals in Europe and Asia to suspend their movements. Public opinion was more satisfied by the renewal of orders for an advance of the fleet, which on this occasion were not revoked. Admiral Hornby, declining to take notice of a Turkish protest, steamed through the Dardanelles, and, leaving a couple of ironclads near Gallipoli, anchored

with his main squadron at the Princes Islands, a few miles from the Golden Horn.

The conditions of the armistice, it was found, included the right to occupy the Tchataldja lines outside Constantinople, and of this the Russians availed themselves as soon as the British fleet had entered the Sea of Marmora. But European diplomacy was now at work, and the prospect appeared to be growing clearer. Prince Bismarck spoke hopefully of a Congress, which it was at this time expected might soon meet at Baden. Russia gave explicit pledges not to occupy Gallipoli or the lines of Boulair. In Parliament the resistance to the vote of credit died out with a final protest from the minority. But the hopes of peace and of a settlement of the Eastern Question, once for all, in a European Congress were dispersed by the announcement of the terms of peace definitively agreed upon, as between the late belligerents, in a treaty signed at San Stefano on the 3rd of March.

The chief stipulations were the cession of a large portion of Armenia to Russia by Turkey, the transfer to Russia by Roumania of Danubian Bessarabia in exchange for the Dobrudja, the payment of a large pecuniary indemnity by Turkey, the erection of Bulgaria, from the Ægean to the Danube, into an autonomous Christian principality, the recognition of the complete independence of Roumania, extensions of territory for Servia and Montenegro, privileges like those of Crete for Thessaly and Epirus. The effect of each one of these provisions might be disputable, but, taken together, their effect plainly was to give Russia a menacing preponderance in the Balkan Peninsula. This was felt in Austria no less than in England. Count Andrassy declared before the Delegations that the great interests of the Empire were threatened, and the war vote of sixty millions of florins, as to which there had been some demur, was at once granted.

The inopportune efforts of the peace party, as they were called, in this country to make demonstrations in Hyde Park and elsewhere provoked reprisals, and the war spirit became more and more inflamed, while diplomacy was fencing with facts and endeavouring to reconcile Russian pretensions with the claims of Europe. The British Government consistently demanded that the Treaty of San Stefano should not only be "communicated in its entirety" to the Powers, but should be "submitted"

to the Congress in the sense that every point considered by the plenipotentiaries as of European interest might be dealt with as such. This demand Russia was unwilling to admit. Hence our Government was active in preparing for war, and was approved by the people.

Lord Derby's resignation on the 28th of March cleared up much that was ambiguous. The retiring Foreign Secretary fully justified the policy of England in refusing to enter the Congress without guarantees, which Russia would not give, but he intimated that he could not join with his colleagues in the measures they deemed necessary at such a crisis. What those measures were Lord Derby thought he was bound not to say. The Prime Minister lost no time, however, in announcing that one of them was the calling out of the Reserve Forces, but there was a general feeling that this was not all. A few days after Lord Salisbury had taken Lord Derby's place at the Foreign Office, a circular was published with his signature which produced a deep impression throughout Europe. This brilliant State paper subjected the Treaty of San Stefano to a rigorous criticism, showing that it established the predominance of Russia over the Turkish Empire, not by any single article, but by "the operation of the instrument as a whole." Lord Salisbury's reasoning was generally accepted as conclusive, though Mr. Bright and a Liberal deputation from the provinces urged Lord Granville and Lord Hartington to protest against making Russia's refusal to enter the Congress on the conditions laid down by Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury the pretext for "a useless and criminal war." The Ministerial changes—Mr. Hardy, raised to the Upper House as Lord Cranbrook, taking the India Office, and Colonel Stanley the War Office—were marked by active preparations for possible hostilities. The mobilisation of the reserves was rapidly pushed forward. The leaders of the Opposition, while severely criticising the measure, declined to support an amendment moved by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, which obtained only sixty-four votes, including those of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright.

A greater effect was produced by the announcement that the Government had sent orders to Calcutta for the immediate despatch of 7000 native troops to Malta. These proofs of the resolute attitude of England influenced the diplomatic movements, in which Germany now took a leading part. Prince Gortchakoff's despatches showed a desire to conciliate, and

Count Schouvaloff's journeys to and from St. Petersburg were significant of peace. The Russian Press was warned to subdue its tones, and little was henceforward heard about the American privateers, on the purchase and equipment of which the patriots of Moscow were spending large sums of money. Some weeks of suspense ensued. But when Parliament re-assembled after the Whitsuntide recess the strain was visibly lessened. The negotiations were conducted, of course, secretly, and in the meantime Parliament discussed at immense length the constitutional questions arising out of the movement of the Indian troops. The Opposition contended that the conduct of the Ministry was inconsistent with the Bill of Rights, the Mutiny Act, and the Government of India Act. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of what the Lord Chancellor described as "a dry and bare legal and constitutional controversy." In the House of Lords the Opposition did not go to a division; in the House of Commons the Government had a majority of 121. The dispute created little interest out of doors. It was generally conceded that the Government had acted for the best in a difficult emergency, and that, even if they had infringed the letter of the law, which was not proved, the crisis might be pleaded as a sufficient defence.

On the 2nd of June it was announced in Parliament that the obstacles to the Congress were removed, Russia declaring herself "ready to participate" in all the discussions relating to the San Stefano Treaty, and that the German Government had invited the representatives of the Great Powers to meet at Berlin on the 13th. The Premiers and the Foreign Ministers of England, Germany, and Austria, and the Foreign Ministers of France and Italy, were among the plenipotentiaries. Russia was represented by its Chancellor and Count Schouvaloff, Turkey by Caratheodori Pasha, a Greek Christian, and Mehemet Ali, a German convert to Islam. The appearance of Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury—especially of the former—at the Radziwill Palace excited the keenest interest in Berlin and throughout Europe, where English policy had not been so earnestly watched since the Crimean War. Much speculation was caused by the disclosure, through the indiscretion of a "writer" employed in the Foreign Office, of an agreement signed by Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff on the 30th of May, in which those modifications in the San Stefano terms on which the British

plenipotentiaries were prepared to insist were defined. Among them was conspicuous the division of Bulgaria into two provinces separated by the Balkans, while with respect to Asiatic Turkey the peculiar interest of England was expressly recognised.

The published accounts of the policy thus disclosed were declared by the Government to be inaccurate and incomplete, and the contradictory reports as to what the Congress had decided created frequent alarms. It was not until the eve of the signature of the Treaty of Berlin that the Government announced the conclusion, five weeks before, of a Convention with Turkey by which Great Britain engaged to defend the Sultan's dominions in Asia against Russian attacks, while the Porte assented to our occupation of Cyprus, and promised to introduce "necessary reforms," subject to British approval. The negotiators at Berlin had by this time ended their labours. The treaty was signed on the 13th of July, and three days later Lord Beaconsfield was welcomed back in London with a great display of approbation. He addressed a few emphatic words to an applauding crowd in Downing Street, declaring that the British plenipotentiaries had brought back from Berlin "peace with honour."

The Ministry had reason to be satisfied with the support of the country. In whatever particulars it appeared that the Treaty of Berlin was open to attack, as in dispossessing Roumania of Bessarabia or surrendering Batoum, Ardahan, and Kars to Russia, there was a conviction that if the arrangements made were honestly and fairly carried out, the Eastern Question might be regarded as settled, if not finally, at least for many years to come. The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria was considered to be a guarantee for the co-operation of that Empire in restraining Russian ambition. The supposed irritation of France and Italy was seen to be practically of no political significance.

The honours conferred by the Crown upon Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury were reaffirmed by numerous demonstrations of public opinion. It was not to be expected that the Opposition should take the same view; Mr. Gladstone mocked at the Treaty of Berlin and denounced the Anglo-Turkish Convention as an "insane covenant," and Lord Hartington was forced to move a resolution in the House of Commons, which the Premier correctly described as "a string of congratulatory regrets." A long debate followed and a division, in which the Government

obtained the decisive and almost unprecedented majority of 143. The session was soon afterwards brought to a close. The position of the Ministry was manifestly so strong that, according to a current rumour, an early dissolution was contemplated, by which a Conservative majority would have been secured for another septennial term. But the Premier's speech at the Guildhall gave no hint of this, and the idea, if ever entertained, was soon abandoned.

The Treaty of Berlin and the Convention with Turkey dealt with so many and such complicated arrangements that difficulties were clearly to be expected ; yet when they arose there were irrational disappointments and alarms. The administration of Cyprus was transferred from Turkish to British hands before the Congress broke up ; Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed Governor ; and a large occupying force was sent to hold what Lord Beaconsfield has described as "a place of arms." Unfortunately, the season was unhealthy ; no proper sanitary arrangements had been made, and fever of an exhausting, though rarely fatal, kind seriously weakened the strength of the garrison. The propriety of selecting Cyprus as the British position in the Levant is still disputed, yet it is probable that next year will see the island settled and progressing under our rule, entailing no charges, except for the troops which we maintain there with a view to political eventualities, and at least as healthy as most of our military stations abroad. So, also, the Austrian occupation of Bosnia was at first proclaimed to be a failure. The Mussulman inhabitants rose in insurrection against the advancing forces of General Szapary, and a struggle followed, in which much blood was shed and religious animosities were seemingly aroused. But in a few weeks the resistance grew feeble, receiving no encouragement from Constantinople, and before the close of the autumn this question also was practically settled.

The delay in the execution of other parts of the Treaty of Berlin gave rise to renewed apprehensions of the same kind. The Turkish Government, as might have been anticipated, was not prompt to carry out its part of the contract. The Greeks, who had put forward their claims before the Congress met, and who had been disappointed at the result, protested against the delay in the delimitation of the new frontier. The opponents of the treaty in this country proclaimed with precipitate ardour that it was a failure, that Turkey was refusing to obey the

mandates of Europe, and it was even said that Russia was freed from the obligation to carry out frankly the pledges she had given. Against this impatience several members of the Cabinet set themselves to contend in a series of provincial visits, undertaken at an unusually early period of the autumn, beginning with Lancashire and Yorkshire, and afterwards attacking advanced Liberalism in its main stronghold at Birmingham. On the other side, Mr. Gladstone and other critics, though not the recognised Liberal leaders, kept public opinion in a ferment.

It was with some surprise that the country, on looking back from time to time, recognised the progress that had really been made. The flight of the Mussulman inhabitants of Roumelia into the Rhodope mountains had been due, as the Turks asserted, to the cruelties not only of the Bulgarians, but of the Russians. An International Commission of Inquiry was appointed, which published a report in the autumn, as to the fairness and conclusiveness of which there was, and is, much controversy.

In Albania, where the Bosnian insurrection was still active, there was a violent agitation of the Mahomedan Arnauts, and, unfortunately, the popular excitement found a victim in Mehemet Ali, the Commissioner nominated by the Porte for carrying out the treaty arrangements in that quarter. Mehemet Ali was a German by birth, but had risen almost to the highest rank in the Turkish service, having not only commanded in chief during the campaign of 1877, but having been a plenipotentiary at Berlin. The Government at Constantinople was not strong enough to suppress these disorders, which, however, abated of themselves in a few months. The course taken by the Russian authorities in Bulgaria and Roumelia did not tend to strengthen the Porte. The Russian Governor, Prince Dondoukoff Korsakoff, was reported to have used contemptuous language respecting the treaty, and to have declared, in substance, that the Czar did not intend to allow the separation of Eastern Roumelia from Bulgaria Proper to be carried into effect. These utterances of what Lord Beaconsfield has styled "irresponsible frivolity" were in some measure disavowed by the Czar's Government; but the withdrawal of the Russian forces was delayed on the ground that the Turks were hesitating to agree to the execution of those parts of the San Stefano Treaty which were not dealt with at Berlin. Intrigues at the Porte complicated the situation, and it was not

until near the end of the year that a new Turkish Ministry seemed likely to deprive Russia of this pretext for prolonging the disturbance of Eastern Europe.

The course of events at home and abroad drew Russia more and more towards conciliation. A fortnight ago Lord Beaconsfield was able to state—and in this he was supported by M. Waddington's contemporaneous testimony in the French Senate—that every day the treaty was advancing to its fulfilment, and that within the period of transition contemplated when the instrument was signed the complete attainment of all its objects might be looked for. In the same way, it may be hoped, the very natural difficulties in the way of executing the Anglo-Turkish Convention will be overcome in due time. The Porte has accepted in principle the administrative reforms for Asiatic Turkey proposed by Sir Henry Layard, and the Ministry of Khaireddin Pasha is more likely to give practical proof that they are to be carried out than one chosen from among the ordinary officials of the Porte. The political and social disorganisation of Turkey after the close of the war must be taken into account when we are considering the question whether the pacification of Europe has proceeded rapidly or not. The financial embarrassment at Constantinople has been extreme, and at first a general collapse was apparently at hand. The turbulence of the Softas and the conspiracy of Ali Suavi gave proof of the popular excitement; but, though suspected plots have again within the past few weeks caused alarm in the palace, there is a visible improvement. The new Grand Vizier, Khaireddin Pasha, a Tunisian politician and man of letters, patronised by Abdul Hamid, and the Foreign Minister, Caratheodori Pasha, a Greek, are pledged to reforms, and more capable of understanding what reforms mean than the Turks of the old school. In Russia, troubles similar in kind, though less in degree, have retarded the restoration of tranquillity. The imminence of the financial danger was avowed. The Nihilist Societies defied the Government, Generals Trepoff and Mesentzoff, successively chiefs of the secret police, were assassinated, and the sternest repressive measures have but imperfectly controlled the revolutionary agitation.

It was in connection with India that the most serious causes of disquietude arose. The shock of the Russo-Turkish struggle was felt throughout our Indian dominions. The natives showed

an ominous restlessness. Distorted notions of what was happening in European politics prevailed, and the distant form of Russia loomed vague and large upon the Oriental imagination. The financial policy of Sir John Strachey, which had imposed new taxes with the object of accumulating a famine insurance fund, was assailed with unusual violence. There were many signs of a belief that England had met with a check, and was, consequently, in a position to be forced into concessions. The seditious and libellous language of a part of the native press provoked the Viceroy early in the spring to pass with remarkable rapidity, as an urgent measure, an Act which subjected Indian newspapers to a severe censorship. The policy of this step was severely criticised in the Imperial Parliament by Mr. Gladstone and others, but was not reversed. Another symptom of the same nervous and suspicious frame of mind was visible in the alarm excited by rumours of the growing military strength of the Nizam, Scindiah, Holkar, and others of our feudatories. That the Government was not wholly indifferent to these rumours may be inferred from the enactment of a statute, also passed with "urgency," strictly regulating the importation and possession of arms.

The explanation of all this disquietude was afterwards made clear. The foreign relations of India beyond the north-west frontier had been troubled by Russian pressure in Afghanistan. Our alliance with the Ameer Shere Ali had fallen into practical abeyance ; he had rejected all our overtures, while evidence was forthcoming that Russian intercourse with Cabul was becoming constantly more intimate and frequent. When from the European complications it appeared only too probable that England and Russia would be involved in war, the Indian Government was compelled to watch more closely the current of Afghan politics. It was discovered not only that a Russian Embassy was received at Cabul with an ostentatious display of sympathy, and that the Ameer, who despatched an envoy in return to Tashkend, was discussing political questions with the emissaries of the Czar, but that movements of Russian troops had actually commenced with a view to a diversion of the English power in the event of a European war. It was not possible to blame Russia for this, but, coupled with her forgetfulness of her pledges not to meddle with Afghan affairs, its significance could not be contested.

Lord Lytton having drawn the attention of the Home Government to the importance of the events in Afghanistan and Central Asia, was authorised to depart from the inaction to which Indian policy had consented in the past. The Ameer was requested to receive in his capital a British mission headed by Sir Neville Chamberlain. It was clear that the objection previously urged by the Ameer, the impossibility of guaranteeing the personal security of a European envoy at Cabul, had been removed by the reception of General Stolieteff and his suite. A native agent was sent on to explain to the Ameer the purpose of the mission, and the reasons why its rejection would be regarded as an act of hostility. But when Sir Neville Chamberlain and his companions reached the Khyber Pass, Major Cavagnari, who had advanced to Fort Ali Masjid, was turned back with threats, and with the intimation that the progress of the mission would be forcibly resisted. An evasive letter from Shere Ali was received while the Government were considering whether war should be instantly declared or not, and it was decided to despatch an ultimatum to Cabul calling upon the Ameer for a suitable apology and the reception of a permanent British Mission in his dominions. It is tolerably certain that, if public opinion in this country had been fully informed as to the facts upon which the Imperial and Indian Governments acted, there would have been no serious differences of opinion. But there was no authentic knowledge of the relations between the Russians and the Afghans, and some political opponents of the Government hastened to affirm that Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Lytton were acting upon unjustifiable suspicions with a view to territorial aggrandisement.

Lord Lawrence, Lord Northbrook, and other eminent personages who had been connected with Indian administration, broke through the traditional reserve of Anglo-Indian politicians and denounced our interference with Afghanistan. An "Afghan Committee" was formed, which attempted to coerce the Government into suspending the declaration of war until Parliament had pronounced upon it. But the Government was firm, and the agitation met with no popular support. This was the more creditable because the question had been complicated by issues which the publication of the Parliamentary papers and the debates in Parliament have since cleared away. It was argued that the Ameer had probably received no Russian Mission at

all ; that he was equally ready to receive an English Mission, if not courteously treated ; that he was entitled to the comity and the rights which international law accords to independent Powers. It was asserted that the war would cost "at the least" fifteen millions, perhaps twenty or thirty. It was predicted that Shere Ali's army would prove more than a match for the troops prepared for the expedition ; that the hill tribes would cut off the invading armies ; that the winter would make an advance impracticable or highly perilous.

Nevertheless, when no answer was received from the Ameer on the day named in the ultimatum, the 20th of November, the war began. The British forces advanced upon the Afghan territory in three columns, one moving by the Khyber Pass, a second by the Kuram, and a third by the Bolan. The first, under Sir Samuel Browne, captured Fort Ali Masjid without encountering serious resistance, and marched on to Dakka, with some risk to its communications from the marauding hillmen. General Biddulph's movements from Quetta in the direction of Candahar were slow, but unobstructed. But to General Roberts and his small force in the Kuram Valley fell the most important successes, skilfully as well as gallantly won. The Afghans, strongly reinforced, and commanded, according to rumour, by one of the Ameer's sons, had held the fortified positions of the Peiwar Pass. By well-executed turning movements, combined with resolute hand-to-hand fighting, those positions were taken, and the Afghans retreated in disorder, making no stand even in the Shutar-gardan Pass, which, however, the snow has probably closed by this time to our troops. On the 20th of December, exactly one month after the declaration of war, General Browne marched unopposed into Jellalabad. Shere Ali had already taken flight from Cabul into Balkh, leaving anarchy behind him. His son, Yakoob Khan, has been released, and has seized the reins of government ; but he commands no organised army. It is improbable that any further military movements will be attempted, either towards Candahar or Cabul, till the winter is over.

Lord Beaconsfield, in a speech on Lord Mayor's Day, pointed out that the occupation of a "scientific frontier" was one of the results to be looked for from the war—a statement unfairly construed to mean that this was our object in declaring war. It was desirable that this and other misapprehensions should be cleared up. Public opinion was satisfied by the convocation of

Parliament for the 5th of December, in compliance with the spirit of the Government of India Act. At the same time the official correspondence relating to Afghanistan and Central Asia was published, and a striking change in public opinion was at once produced, which was confirmed by the debates in both Houses of Parliament.

In the House of Lords, Lord Cranbrook's motion demanding the assent of Parliament for the expenditure of Indian revenues upon the war was met with an amendment by Lord Halifax, which, after an instructive debate, was rejected by a majority of 201 against 65. In the House of Commons two attacks were opened—by Mr. Whitbread, in the form of an amendment to the Address, condemning the general policy of the Government, and by Mr. Fawcett, in the form of an amendment to Mr. Stanhope's demand for the assent of the House to the use of the Indian revenues. The majority in favour of the Government in the former case was 101, and in the latter 110. But the greatest effect was produced by the admissions of the leading statesmen of the Opposition, who with scarcely an exception acknowledged that the danger of Russian interference in Afghanistan was a real one, and only contended that the Liberal policy had actively striven to oppose that influence. The whole question which the country had to decide was thus placed in a new light ; the reasonings which had been partially accepted in the autumn lost their relevancy. The force of the Ministerial motives being recognised, there was no difficulty in conceding to Ministers the right to act upon them.

In France at the beginning of the year the victory of the Republicans was seen to be complete. The Chamber of Deputies was inclined to urge more radical measures than the Cabinet would, perhaps, have been disposed to accept, but the Conservative majority in the Senate acted as a sensible, though not visible, check. The resistance of Marshal MacMahon was apparently broken. Though rumours were often raised that another 16th of May was not out of the range of probability the public refused to believe them, and the Marshal gradually fell into the habit of following his Ministers' advice as implicitly as an ordinary Constitutional King. The country was prosperous, and all the trading classes looked forward to the Exhibition as certain to bring them large gains and to quicken the pulses of commerce.

Nothing has done French Conservatism more injury with the masses of the people than the hidden intrigues by which an attempt, happily unsuccessful, was made to thwart an enterprise at once so profitable and so creditable to France. The success of the Exhibition confirmed the Republic as a safe and satisfactory form of government in the goodwill of the *bourgeoisie* and peasantry. If, unlike the Imperial display of 1867, it did not attract all the pleasure-lovers of the world, it drew to Paris vast crowds from the French provinces whom the Empire would by no means have welcomed in the capital. The interest taken in the Exhibition by the Prince of Wales and other illustrious personages was a blow to the enemies of the Republic, who had persuaded themselves that European royalty would scorn a *parvenu* Government and all its works. The credit which the dignified and firm, and at the same time prudent, management of foreign affairs by M. Waddington secured for the Republic was distasteful in the same way to the Opposition, who turned against it all the weapons of sarcasm, now contemning it as weakly timid because it obtained no advantages for France at Berlin, now charging it with meddlesome recklessness, now denouncing it as subservient to England.

But the French people have cordially approved M. Waddington's course, and, while sympathising with the aims of this country in the diplomatic struggle against Russia, have not called for dangerous activity. This dominance of common sense and caution in French politics is a novel development of the national character. It is curious to note that it has become visible at a time when independent observers are astonished by the military strength of the country which was laid prostrate eight years ago. The communal elections of the autumn have practically determined the issue of those in which, early next year, one-third of the Senate is to be renewed. The Republican party will then, beyond doubt, control both Chambers, and will be in a position either to re-elect Marshal MacMahon as President or to give him a staunch Republican successor. The influence of the Republican movement in France has been powerfully felt in the neighbouring kingdom of Belgium; not, indeed, that King Leopold's throne is in the least degree menaced, but that the defeat of French clericalism has brought the clerical Ministry at Brussels to the ground. The elections a few months ago conclusively proved that M. Malou and his colleagues had become

unpopular in towns where clerical influence was triumphant some years back. The Liberal Administration of M. Frère-Orban has the support of a powerful majority, and, if it does not attempt to advance too fast, may retain power long.

The national self-esteem of Germany was gratified by the leading part which the Imperial Chancellor took in the negotiations for the new settlement of Europe. The presidency of Prince Bismarck at the Congress and the very style and title of the treaty bore testimony to German hegemony on the Continent. But the cares of the Germans were soon diverted from foreign to domestic events. In May a Saxon tinsmith, named Hödel, attempted the life of the Emperor William, in the Unter den Linden at Berlin, and, though unsuccessful, showed a malignant resolution that inspired general alarm. Prince Bismarck's immediate followers, as well as the Conservatives in general, called for measures of severe repression, which the National Liberals were unwilling to grant. But early in June another and more desperate attack, of the same kind, was executed by a Dr. Nobiling, a man of some education and position, who fired at and wounded the Emperor in the face and side, shooting himself immediately afterwards through the head. Nobiling died after a lingering agony, but Hödel was tried, condemned, and executed. The Liberal opposition to anti-Socialist legislation declined, and Prince Bismarck hastened to dissolve the Reichstag, on the ground that it had refused the Government extraordinary powers at an extraordinary crisis.

The Crown Prince assumed the temporary authority of Regent, but the Emperor's vigour of constitution carried him safely through his dangers, and before the winter he had resumed the exercise of his sovereign power. While it was still uncertain whether he would survive his wounds, and while judicial inquiries had brought to light the fact that both Hödel and Nobiling had been connected with the Social-Democratic movement, the elections were held; the National Liberal party found its strength much diminished; the more advanced Liberals and Socialists lost still more ground; while the Conservatives on the one side, and the Ultramontanes and Particularists on the other, were both positively and relatively strengthened. It was at first believed that the Liberals, though in a minority, would firmly resist the Anti-Socialist Bill, and that the Government could not triumph without Ultramontane aid; but a compromise

has been adopted, and Prince Bismarck has obtained powers almost as great as those originally asked for, which are now being vigorously used.

The policy of Italy cannot be praised for the stability and sound sense which have borne such good fruit in France. A want of balanced judgment and an excitability of temper retard the progress and detract from the reputation of a people with great capacities and a great history as well as the power of understanding and applying Constitutional principles. The death of King Victor Emmanuel, quickly followed by that of Pius IX., no doubt introduced disturbing elements, but it is not to these that we must attribute the fluctuations of Italian politics. Though the loss of Victor Emmanuel was keenly felt, the universal acceptance of his son, King Humbert, as his successor, tended to strengthen the State, and the new King has shown that he knows how to govern as a Constitutional sovereign.

The election of Cardinal Pecci to the Papedom with the title of Leo XIII. begot hopes which have not been realised. Leo XIII. had used conciliatory language in his earliest pontifical utterances, and it was assumed that his policy, without recognising any change in the ideas and aims of the Holy See, would shift from the untenable positions of the Syllabus, and would allow the claims of Infallibility to recede into the background. But it quickly appeared that the Pope, though proceeding by a different path from that which his predecessor had travelled, was to the full as determined to uphold the authority of the Church. He has distinctly refused to acknowledge even indirectly the new Government of Italy, and he has repudiated in the strongest language the doctrines of toleration now accepted in all civilised countries.

The Italian kingdom, however, was too strong to be shaken by a weakened renewal of Papal thunders. It was through internal party conflicts that weakness began to show itself. Signor Depretis, having ejected Signor Nicotera and his following, had formed a new Cabinet with the aid of Signor Crispi, but from this the Extreme Left and Right held equally aloof, while sectional and personal dissensions mined the Ministerial ranks. A scandal in which Signor Crispi's name was involved precipitated another crisis. Signor Depretis was defeated and resigned, and Signor Cairoli, formerly a Garibaldian soldier, was called

upon by King Humbert, as the chief of the largest fraction of the coalesced Opposition, to form a Cabinet. He was unable to enlist the support either of the Right or of the Depretis connection, and he had, of course, to reckon with the hostility of Nicotera and Crispi. His Ministry, however, was respected for its moral qualities, and might have held its ground had it not been for the agitations stirred by the Eastern Question.

Italy has profited by all recent wars in Europe, and it seemed to many Italians that they had an inalienable right to a share in the redistribution of the Turkish dominions. A cry was raised for "Italia Irredenta," for the restoration of the "unredeemed" Trentino and Trieste. Count Corti, the Italian Plenipotentiary at the Congress, put forward no such claim, but Signor Cairoli did not emphatically disavow the demands of the agitators, while at the same time he refused to enforce disciplinary measures in the army and navy, on which the Ministers for War and Marine insisted. The result was the retirement of Count Corti and the two last-named Ministers, and the reconstruction of the Cabinet in a still more Radical sense—a change which renewed the hopes of the hostile factions. The Austrian occupation of Bosnia kept up the Italian cry for territorial gains, and when the time drew near for the meeting of the Chambers at Rome, it was apparent that another adverse coalition would be formed. An attempt to assassinate the King at Naples, made by a half-crazy cook named Passanante, an imitator of the German regicides Hödel and Nobiling, happily failed, but, joined with murderous outrages upon the loyal processions at Florence and Pisa, it drew attention to the simmering of Socialism in the country.

The Ministers met the Chambers with a declaration that social disorders would be more stringently dealt with, but at the same time with the announcement that the electoral franchise would be enlarged. Most Italian politicians are opposed to such a measure, and the withdrawal by Leo XIII. of his predecessor's command, *Nè eletti, nè elettori*, had increased the indisposition to face such a change. The Right, headed by Sella, Lanza, and Minghetti, and various sections of the Left, headed by Depretis, Crispi, and Nicotera, united to record a crushing vote against Signor Cairoli, who at once resigned. After some hesitation, Signor Depretis consented to take office once more, but, as he will be opposed by the Right in a body and by the Cairoli and Nicotera groups, it seems improbable that he can long retain power.

In Spain the fortunes of the royal family have been the centre of interest. Early in the year it was announced that King Alfonso was about to take to wife his cousin, the Princess Mercedes, daughter of the Duc de Montpensier. The marriage, which was celebrated on the 23rd of January with great pomp, was believed to be not popular with the Spanish people, and it was certainly opposed by the Moderado, or extreme Conservative party, and the Ex-Queen Isabella. But the young Queen quickly won all hearts by her grace, her kindness, and her high spirit. Her influence was a guarantee for her husband's throne, and would possibly have been used, as became her Orleanist origin, in the cause of Liberalism. But after a few months of wedded happiness a sudden fever carried her off, to the deep grief of the whole nation, and, indeed, it may be said of all the civilised world. The domestic misery of the King, perhaps, helped to keep factions under. If disaffection began afterwards to move, it was checked rather than stimulated by the crime of the Tarragonian assassin Moncasi, who, like the Italian Passanante, was a mere copyist of the more resolute German criminals.

The domestic annals of Austria are interesting only from their connection with foreign policy. The Magyars, moved at once by traditional sympathy with Turkey and by hatred of Russia, suspicious also of any increase of the Slav element in the empire, looked askance at Count Andrassy's scheme for the occupation of Bosnia. There was a violent agitation against the Tisza Ministry, but in October the Diet at Pesth gave the Government a decisive majority, and finally ratified the policy of occupation. In Roumania the popular protests against the retrocession of Bessarabia have also come to nothing. The declaration of independence has caused no increase of political activity in Roumania, Servia, or Montenegro.

The settlement of the Eastern Question has been advanced by the introduction of reforms in Egypt and the adoption of a policy, in which England and France are agreed, for the supervision of Egyptian affairs. The financial system introduced by Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert had not been successful, and a new Commission of Inquiry was ordered, in which Mr. Rivers Wilson, formerly of the English Treasury, took the leading part. The report of the Commission brought to the mind of the Khedive the conviction that safety was to be secured only by a

complete surrender. Accordingly, he accepted, in August last, the conditions imposed upon him ; entrusted Nubar Pasha, the ablest of Egyptian statesmen, with the task of forming a Ministry, Mr. Rivers Wilson becoming Minister of Finance ; and declared that the Daira Estates held by himself and his family would be unconditionally restored to the State. The change was hailed with general satisfaction in Western Europe, but in France, where some of the anti-Republicans were harping upon the acquisition of Cyprus by England, an unreasonable outcry was raised against English preponderance in Egypt. A compromise was ultimately agreed upon ; a French Minister of Public Works was chosen as Mr. Rivers Wilson's colleague, and two Commissioners of the Public Debt, an Englishman and a Frenchman, were appointed, the Governments pledging themselves to maintain them in power.

In the Far East there have been few events to record. China has been smitten by a famine more terrible than those we have had to encounter in India. Nine millions of people were said to be starving, and an appeal was made to the liberality of the English people, not in vain. But even this gigantic calamity is of little moment in comparison with the extent and population of the Celestial Empire. The Chinese power is growing stronger rather than weaker, and the demand for the restoration of Kuldja, now being vigorously pressed at St. Petersburg, is a proof of the revival of a military and political ambition that may once more become a powerful factor in Asiatic affairs.

The United States have enjoyed peace and have advanced towards prosperity during the year. President Hayes' veto on the Silver Remonetisation Bill was overruled by a two-thirds vote of Congress last spring ; but the mischief of the issue of depreciated coin has been minimised by the prudent management of the Treasury. The antagonistic parties endeavoured to discredit each other by disinterring scandals connected with the last Presidential contest, clearly with a view to influence the Fall elections. Neither side escaped from this cross fire of accusations unscathed, but the excitement of the strife soon abated in the presence of a common and most formidable enemy.

The greenback inflationists and the Labour agitators joined their forces and formed a new party, which threatened at once public credit and private capital. This "National" party gained some ominous successes in Maine, and seemed likely to win for

General Butler the Governorship of Massachusetts. But the alarm was given in time, and at the Fall elections the "Green-back-Labour" candidates were beaten everywhere, while the Democrats, who had coquetted with them, suffered severe losses in the north and west. When Congress met in December the President's Message announced that resumption of specie payments would be carried into effect according to law on New Year's Day. No opposition was threatened, and the revival of mercantile activity already visible is confidently expected to make rapid progress on a basis of hard money. It was unfortunate for the prospects of this revival that a frightful epidemic of yellow fever broke out in the Southern States during the autumn, causing a great destruction of life and suspension of trade. But this danger has passed away with the approach of winter. It is satisfactory to add that, in spite of some unbecoming murmurs, the compensation awarded to Canada in November 1877 by the arbitrators at Halifax has been paid. A question has arisen with respect to the use of the Newfoundland fisheries, but it is not probable that this issue will seriously divide the two nations.

In the British Colonies the year has been unusually eventful. The European crisis drew from our colonial fellow-subjects in every part of the world expressions of sympathy with the mother country and even offers of material aid. In Canada, where Lord Dufferin had encouraged the growth of a high spirit of Imperial pride, these proofs of loyalty were most conspicuous. They were the more remarkable because the Dominion was at the time on the eve of a pitched battle between domestic parties, which in September resulted in the defeat of the Mackenzie Ministry and the return of a large Parliamentary majority in support of Sir John A. Macdonald and his policy of protection to native industry. Before the change of Ministry rendered necessary by the elections took place it had been announced that the Marquis of Lorne was selected as Lord Dufferin's successor in the Governor-Generalship. The Canadians, though they regretted the departure of the latter, were well pleased at the prospect of having one of the Queen's daughters at the head of their colonial society. The reception of the Governor-General and the Princess a few weeks ago displayed an abounding enthusiasm, and the appointment seems to have bound the Dominion closer to the mother country.

In South Africa the prospect is less satisfactory. At the beginning of the year it was supposed that the Galeka rising in Caffraria had been suppressed ; but the Gaikas rose immediately afterwards, and other troubles broke out, which prolonged the border warfare for many months. Sir Bartle Frere's energetic policy was hampered by his Ministry, who claimed an independent control of the war that could not be granted consistently with the public safety. They were accordingly dismissed, and a new Cabinet was formed, which, with the aid of the Imperial troops, had restored tranquillity in Caffraria by the end of July. But the services of the troops were found to be at once and urgently required in Natal and the Transvaal, where the Zulu King had for some time been threatening hostilities, and where one of his vassals was actually defying the British rule in arms. Lord Chelmsford, who was in command of the Queen's forces, found the situation so serious that he called for reinforcements from home. These have now been despatched, but as the year closes it is not known whether peace with the Zulus will be preserved or not, or whether our forces in South Africa are strong enough to control all the elements of disorder.

In Australasia there has been material progress, and most of the colonies have been applying for loans ; but the prevalent distrust in the Money-market at home has not been favourable to such demands, while the political turmoil in Victoria has unfairly prejudiced other and steadier communities. Another Victorian "dead-lock" was causing embarrassment early in the year ; the Legislative Council had rejected the Appropriation Bill, and Mr. Berry's Ministry, supported by the Assembly, had dismissed important classes of officials with a view to coercing or punishing the opposite party. A compromise was afterwards arranged, but during the autumn discussions upon schemes of constitutional amendment have led to other conflicts between the Legislative Chambers. At the present moment a truce is maintained, while both parties are preparing to invoke the intervention of the Imperial Parliament.

In domestic politics there has been little interest or novelty. At the bye-elections both sides have generally taken up their ground upon one view or another of the Eastern Question. The Liberal party, supported by Mr. Gladstone's authority, have adopted the Birmingham system of organisation in a great number of large boroughs. It seems doubtful, however, whether

the bodies thus constituted will be permanently popular with Englishmen. An attempt to subject Mr. Forster to humiliating dictation at Bradford was indignantly repelled ; and at Peterborough, after dividing the party and nearly losing a Liberal stronghold, the "caucus" was ignominiously defeated. In some of the metropolitan constituencies there is an apparent tendency to reject this importation from the politics of the United States. In Scotland the question of Church Disestablishment has been raised, and the hostility to the Government, which was conspicuously displayed in the Argyllshire election, may possibly take the form of an attack on the Establishment. Home Rule in Ireland has lost much of its energy. Mr. Butt has separated himself more distinctly than before from the uncompromising Obstructionists, and not only supported the Government by his speech and vote in the most critical division of last session, but protested firmly against the plan of moving an amendment to the Address. The enactment of a measure in aid of Intermediate Education has excited some hope among the clerical party that the University question will be similarly dealt with. The Land question is still regarded by the Irish masses as an open one, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's legislation only eight years ago. The savage murder of Lord Leitrim in Donegal furnished a deplorable proof of the social perils of this restlessness, which, it is to be feared, no settlement that Parliament could adopt is likely to allay. The perpetrators of the crime have not yet been brought to justice.

Though the harvest has been plentiful, the year has been remarkable for singular climatic variations. The storms of the spring were most formidable ; in one of the worst of these, complicated with a blinding fall of snow, the *Eurydice* training ship, with a crew of 330 young men and boys on board, capsized off the Isle of Wight, within view of the land, and went to the bottom with nearly every one on board. The floods of the summer and autumn will be long remembered. On the 24th of June an unprecedented rainfall of almost three inches drenched London. Thunderstorms of remarkable violence were frequent. These atmospheric disturbances were followed by a winter of extraordinary severity. The cold in the metropolis, though severe, has been insignificant compared with that in Scotland, in the North of England, and even in Ireland.

With the loss of the *Eurydice* may be classed two other

catastrophes which happened off the South Coast—the collision between the German ironclads *Grosser Kurfürst* and *König Wilhelm* off Dungeness, in which the former went down; and the sinking of the Transatlantic passenger steamer *Pommerania* in the same waters from a similar cause. But these disasters were dwarfed by the horrors of the running down of the *Princess Alice* river steamer, near Woolwich. This slightly-built pleasure-boat, laden with from 700 to 800 London holiday-makers, came into collision, through want of skill or care in her navigation, with a heavy iron-built collier, and went instantly to the bottom. Only a few of the passengers were saved. In comparison with this ruin the destruction of life in the accident to a Ramsgate excursion train at Sittingbourne was scarcely noticed.

Few remarkable trials have occupied our Courts of Law. A singular conflict of jurisdictions between the Ecclesiastical and the Civil tribunals arose out of Mr. Mackonochie's defiance of episcopal commands. Lord Penzance in the Arches Court had pronounced sentence of suspension on Mr. Mackonochie for refusing to obey a "monition," and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council confirmed the grounds upon which this judgment was founded. But Mr. Mackonochie applied to the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court for an injunction restraining Lord Penzance from proceeding with the sentence, and the writ was granted by the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mellor, against the opinion of Mr. Justice Lush. This decision was a heavy blow not only at the Court of Arches, but at the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. After the lapse of some months Lord Penzance renewed the controversy by a severe criticism of the Queen's Bench judgment, and the Lord Chief Justice replied in a pungent pamphlet, which Lord Penzance has publicly announced he will not read. The dignity of none of the tribunals concerned has been enhanced by this squabble. It reminds us far too much of the bickerings from which Lord Justice Christian's retirement has lately relieved the Court of Appeals in Dublin. Mr. Russell Gurney, shortly before his death, resigned the Recordership of London, and the Common Serjeant, Sir T. Chambers, was elevated to the vacant place. A keen contest for the Common Serjeantcy resulted in the choice by the Corporation of Mr. Charley, M.P.

The most illustrious name in the obituary of the year is that of the Princess Alice, Grand Duchess of Hesse. This, the first

death in the immediate family circle of the Queen since the Prince Consort's, affected the country deeply and painfully. The pathetic incidents of the fatal event touched the popular heart and quickened the sympathetic loyalty of the English people. Something similar were the feelings aroused in Spain by the untimely death of Queen Mercedes, to which we have already referred.

The attachment of a nation to a dynasty was displayed under very different conditions in Italy on the death of King Victor Emmanuel, a few days after his old servant and companion in arms, General La Marmora. Victor Emmanuel was not a man of genius, yet he left the indelible impress of his character upon the history of his country and his time. His sincerity, his courage, his devotion to the cause of Italian unity, of which he became the champion in its darkest days, were as indispensable for the success of the aspirations of Italy as the splendid audacity of Garibaldi, the fervent genius of Mazzini, and the intrepid statesmanship of Cavour. If Italian Constitutionalism survives its trials, it will owe much to the first King of United Italy. Far different was the work of Pius IX., who, having lived to see more than "the years of Peter," died within a month after the destroyer of the temporal power. If Victor Emmanuel advanced the hopes of European Constitutionalism, Pope Pius toiled zealously to round the orb of Papal despotism. His failure was inevitable, though he was obeyed by the clergy and revered by the faithful as few Popes have been since the Reformation.

Two other former wielders of sovereign power passed away during the year—George, King of Hanover and Duke of Cumberland, and Maria Christina, formerly Queen-Regent of Spain.

At home the death of Earl Russell at a patriarchal age broke one of the links that joined the England of our day with the England of our fathers. The veteran Whig statesman had retired for nearly ten years from active political strife, though the memory of his long and fruitful career gave him an unchallenged authority in politics.

Lord Chelmsford was a year or two younger than Earl Russell; he was a staunch Conservative; but though a Cabinet Minister, he had never been conspicuous as a politician. As a leader of the Bar and an advocate of graceful presence and persuasive eloquence he was more remarkable than as Lord

Chancellor. He had the rare fortune of living long enough to see two of his sons serving the State in high places, the one as General commanding the Queen's forces in South Africa, the other as Lord Justice of Appeal.

In Mr. Russell Gurney, Recorder of London and M.P. for Southampton, the Conservative party lost one of its most respected members. The death of Mr. Wykeham Martin within the precincts of the House of Commons—an event unparalleled since the murder of Perceval in the lobby—created a painful sensation. The eccentricities, tempered by good-humour, of the late Mr. Whalley, champion of Protestantism and of “the Claimant,” will dwell long in the kindly remembrance of Parliament.

Among other personages well known in English society, politics, art, or letters who have disappeared from the scene may be mentioned the accomplished and scholarly Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell ; Mr. George Payne, the highest authority upon all sporting questions ; Sir Gilbert Scott, the most distinguished of our modern architects ; Sir Francis Grant, the President of the Royal Academy ; George Cruickshank, the greatest of caricaturists ; George Henry Lewes, philosopher and critic ; and two actors of very different schools, but each of remarkable powers —Charles Mathews and Samuel Phelps.

Ireland lost two men who, though not actively engaged in politics, exercised a strong political influence on opposing sides. Paul Cullen, Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, was the life and soul of the Ultramontane movement in Ireland ; Mr. Justice Keogh was one of a small number of Irish Roman Catholic Liberals whom the Ultramontane victories drove into a social, and almost a political, Conservatism.

In France, M. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, was, like the Irish Cardinal, the ablest and most powerful champion of the Church and its claims ; but in literary skill and intellectual culture he was raised above all comparison with the Archbishop of Dublin, though a certain Gallican independence caused him to miss the honours which the latter easily achieved. The opponents of French Ultramontanism have few characteristics in common with Judge Keogh ; such were the aged Radical Raspail and Garnier Pagès, sometime member of the Provisional Government of 1848, who died during the year. So also did Count Palikao, a soldier of the Second Empire, chiefly famed for his

share in the invasion of China, and for his tenure of the War Ministry in 1870, down to the disaster at Sedan.

In Italy, besides Victor Emmanuel and Pius IX., were removed General La Marmora, the organiser of the military strength of Piedmont ; Count Sclopis, an eminent jurist and diplomatist, who presided at the Geneva Arbitration ; and Father Secchi, the astronomer. James Fazy, once Dictator of Geneva, passed away at a patriarchal age ; and M. Bulgaris, one of the best known political leaders of modern Greece, left the stage clear for his rivals.

The United States have lost in Mr. Cullen Bryant not only a patriarch in letters and journalism, but a true poet, where poets were few. A more singular product of American society was removed in Tweed, the former autocrat of the Tammany Ring.

In scientific research and discovery, in literature and the arts, the year 1878 has shown no slackening of energy, though it has produced no pre-eminent achievements of genius. The invention of the telephone, which attracted so much attention in 1877, has been the precursor of further advances in the same direction ; the microphone and the phonograph, of which the former magnifies sounds while the latter prints them for subsequent reproduction by electricity, are still little more than toys, but their future employment in science and practice may be regarded as certain.

Of more practical and immediate interest is the application of various schemes of electric lighting to ordinary use, both in buildings and in open spaces. In these regions of discovery the promised revelations of an American, Mr. Edison, have excited great curiosity. At Paris, during the Exhibition, the electric light was burnt in some of the main thoroughfares and in the building in the Champ de Mars. The apparent success of the experiment led to its repetition, on a smaller scale, in many parts of London. In the autumn the holders of gas shares became alarmed, and a heavy fall in the prices of those securities ensued, which was repeated and intensified upon the statement that Mr. Edison had succeeded in dividing the electric light for purposes of ordinary illumination. This panic has somewhat abated, but has by no means passed away.

It may be mentioned that within the past twelve months strong reasons have been assigned to confirm the suspicion that

one or more planets exist between Mercury and the sun. The observations in America of the total solar eclipse, as well as those of the transit of Mercury, were very important. Mr. Norman Lockyer's spectroscopic inquiries have cast a doubt upon the assumed simplicity of some among the primary chemical elements. Geographical exploration has not advanced rapidly, though Captain Burton's journey through the ancient gold-producing "land of Midian," and Professor Nordenskjold's Swedish expedition to open up the North-East passage through the Arctic Ocean, may bear fruit hereafter.

The artistic gains of the country may possibly be held to include the erection on the Thames Embankment of Cleopatra's Needle, which, after its shipwreck off the Spanish coast last year, was towed into the Thames early in the spring, and was safely placed in the position assigned for it some months later. The claims of the English school of painting to European acceptance were amply recognised at the Paris Exhibition. Among the English artists honoured on that occasion by the graceful homage of their foreign rivals was Mr. Frederick Leighton, who, though his fame rests mainly upon his painting, had shown his versatility by exhibiting a sculptured group of the highest merit at Paris. On the death of Sir F. Grant the Presidency of the Royal Academy was filled by the election of Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Leighton to the vacant chair.

In literature, while there was no less activity than in former years, no country could boast of the appearance of many masterpieces. The most important literary movements were closely connected with politics. The Voltaire Centenary in France was organised by the Advanced Republicans as an indirect attack upon clericalism. The publication in Germany of Herr Moritz Busch's *Conversations of Prince Bismarck* was probably not an aimless indiscretion, whatever may have been the motive that prompted it. A careful and laborious inquiry into the question of copyright in this country has prepared the way for legislation, and there are signs that the publishing interest in the United States—or, at least, some of the most powerful firms—would now be well pleased to negotiate for an international settlement.

## 1879

THE year 1879 has been marked by some striking contrasts with the preceding twelve months. During the great part of 1878 this country was formally at peace with all the world, yet public interest was concentrated upon external policy. In 1879, though we have been engaged in most serious and difficult military undertakings, chequered by disasters, it is nevertheless certain that domestic affairs have reconquered the attention of the people. The Parliamentary session, it is true, has been barren, but its very sterility has provoked discussion. The perennial Irish difficulty has once more presented itself in ever varying forms. There has been an extraordinary revival of party spirit, and, although Government has the power of retaining the present Parliament for more than a year to come, the oratorical campaign of the autumn has been prosecuted on both sides with a vigour unparalleled since the general election of 1868. The gravest apprehensions were aroused by the prevalence of a depression in British agriculture such as had not been witnessed since the close of the Napoleonic war. Trade and industry in the early months of 1879 were suffering hardly less severely, and though a revival began in the autumn, its progress has been slow.

On the Continent peace has been preserved, but the ground-swell of former agitations is still heaving. International rivalries are at work, sometimes threatening established settlements, and sometimes forming new defensive combinations. Governments, conscious of the enormous risks of war, are for the most part labouring to restrain the restlessness of nations, which seems to be stimulated rather than chastened by financial difficulties and commercial troubles. Nevertheless, there are

signs of the growth of confidence, and the causes of alarm which remain are both less serious and less numerous than they were twelve months ago.

At the close of last year the commercial and industrial interests of the country had not begun to emerge from the stagnation in which they had been sunk since 1874. Nowhere among our great manufactures were there signs of returning prosperity, and in few cases even was there matter for hopefulness. Strikes were still frequent, though less determined, if not less embittered, than in recent years. The cotton, iron, and coal trades had all to suffer from the contentions of employers and employed. A startling and disquieting development of this struggle was witnessed in the strike of the goods guards on the Midland Railway, followed by similar conflicts on the Great Northern and North-Eastern lines. In these strikes the working men had to succumb, as they had also in the contest challenged by the London engineers. A cessation of hostilities was witnessed when the intelligence of a decided business revival in the United States, following close upon the resumption of specie payments, began to engender a hope that the "hard times" were nearly over.

During the spring and the summer commerce and industry remained in an attitude of expectation, and it was not until the autumn that any important change was apparent. The first branch of business affected was the iron trade, in which there was a sudden upward movement during the last four months of the year. Other industries have begun to feel the same impulse, with results already perceptible. The process of recovery has been aided by some favouring conditions. Money has been cheap and plentiful. The sharp warning given by the bank failures and other commercial disasters of 1878 held imprudent speculation in check. The bank rate of discount during the greater part of the year stood at 2 per cent. Not less advantage was derived from the low prices of all food supplies. The deficiency of the harvest at home was counterbalanced by large importations of corn, cattle, dead meat, preserved provisions, and dairy produce.

Agriculture, however, has suffered by the development of trade which has thus profited industry. At the beginning of the year the complaints of the farmers were already loud, and the fall of rentals engaged the attention of landowners. Changes

in the land laws, measures for encountering foreign competition, and other remedial projects were energetically discussed. The subject was brought immediately and prominently forward in Parliament. In March Mr. Samuelson unsuccessfully asked the House of Commons to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the conditions of agricultural tenancies in England and Wales; but some two months later Mr. Chaplin obtained the assent of the House and the Government to a more comprehensive resolution for the appointment of a Royal Commission. The Commissioners nominated by the Crown, including the Dukes of Richmond and Buccleuch, Lord Spencer, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Professor Bonamy Price, and a dozen other representatives of various interests connected with agriculture, not only in England, but in Ireland and Scotland, are charged to inquire into "the depressed condition of the agricultural interest and the causes to which it is owing, whether those causes are of a temporary or permanent character, and how far they have been created or can be remedied by legislation." This vast task has been divided for practical purposes, and sub-commissioners are to report upon the state of foreign agriculture.

Mr. Clare Read and Mr. Pell have already completed their survey of the United States and Canada.

While awaiting the result of these elaborate investigations there has been much desultory discussion of remedial schemes. A few irresponsible members of the Conservative party have shown a disposition to advocate a return to protection under the thin disguise of reciprocity, but the notion has been generally repudiated. An attempt was made to fix upon some ambiguous expressions in Lord Salisbury's speech at Manchester a meaning unfavourable to free trade, but a sufficient answer to this charge has since been given. It ought to be remembered also that Lord Beaconsfield himself, who, if any one, might be suspected of a lingering sympathy with schemes for protecting the British farmer against foreign competition, repelled the advances of the Duke of Rutland and Lord Bateman during the session in the clearest and most conclusive terms. The Ministry is solemnly pledged to do nothing which will restrict free imports, and the majority even of the farmers approve that policy. Among the Opposition the reform of the land laws is the chief subject of discussion, but there is as yet no approach to agree-

ment either as to the character of the precise changes to be proposed or as to their probable effect on the position of the tenant farmer. Lord Hartington's declaration that some modifications of the law were desirable derived more importance than perhaps it deserved from the Premier's criticisms upon it, first at the Mansion House in July last and afterwards at Aylesbury in September.

Unfortunately, the fact that British agriculture is depressed may be accepted as proved without waiting for the report of the Royal Commissioners. During the Cattle Show week at many meetings of the farmers the most dismal forebodings were entertained. The Duke of Richmond has lately expressed a hope that the worst is nearly over, but he admitted that if the depression continued, "there must be a general reconsideration and revision of the rental of the country." It is hardly probable that the coming year will be as adverse to the farmer in respect of climatic influences as that which closes to-day. Last winter was remarkable for severe and protracted frosts, followed by bitter east winds, by chilling persistent rain, and dismally clouded skies. The temperature and the duration of sunshine were both far below the average, while the rainfall exceeded the average by nearly one-third. While the climate has thus been cruel to the corn-growing farmer the competition from abroad, and chiefly from the United States, pressed hard upon him, as well as on the breeder of cattle and the producer of butter and cheese. The price of wheat and, still more, the prices of meat, live beasts, dairy produce, and provisions were brought down by unprecedented importations.

When such has been the state of affairs at home, it would have been singular if the English people had shown any preference for an aggressive and adventurous policy, or if a Government which must at no distant date appeal to the country had become chargeable with needlessly disturbing our foreign relations. But events proved too strong for the best intentions. Parliament had met for a couple of weeks before Christmas, and when the year opened the session had been suspended. The Afghan war appeared to be practically over, Shere Ali had fled for refuge towards Russian Turkestan, leaving Yakoob Khan in nominal command at Cabul. Candahar was occupied without serious difficulty by General Stewart. It was believed that Yakoob Khan would soon come to terms, but a long period

of suspense ensued, in which the policy of the Government remained obscure.

Lord Beaconsfield, upon the reassembling of Parliament in February, had declared that the objects for which we had gone to war were accomplished, that we were in possession of the three main highways between Afghanistan and India, and that our Empire was thus secured against any possible attack. In the meantime Shere Ali died on the borders of Balkh, and whatever doubts might have remained as to the title of Yakoob Khan were removed. But still the negotiations for peace seemed to make no progress. A portion of General Browne's column was marched to Gandamak, half-way between Jellalabad and Cabul, but not, as it turned out, with any view to a renewal of the war. Yakoob Khan presented himself in the British camp, and, after some perplexing and tedious diplomatic interviews with Major Cavagnari, accepted a treaty of peace which was signed at Gandamak on the 25th of May. Our relations with Afghanistan had meanwhile escaped Parliamentary criticism, except that the Duke of Argyll indemnified himself for his absence in December by an elaborate indictment of Anglo-Indian policy. The Treaty of Gandamak was not formally impeached by the Opposition until the last day of the session, when Mr. Grant Duff reviewed it in a denunciatory rather than critical speech. The frontier previously marked out was ceded, minimising the territory to be annexed and leaving the Afghans all their principal towns.

No doubts were entertained of the good faith of Yakoob Khan's submission, which appeared to be confirmed when Sir Louis Cavagnari was received by the Ameer as British Envoy with more than formal honours. But on the 3rd of September some regiments of the Ameer's army revolted, and attacked the Residency, killing the Envoy with his suite and escort. Orders were at once given for an advance upon Cabul, when Yakoob Khan sent piteous accounts of his innocence and his powerlessness. Difficulties of transport and commissariat, however, caused delay. It was determined that General Sir Frederick Roberts should advance upon Cabul by the Kuram valley, and the work was promptly and successfully accomplished. The Shutargardan Pass was forced by a daring *coup de main*; the threatened rising of the hill tribes did not occur; Cabul was reported to be in a state of confusion, and in Herat there

was a wild fanatical outbreak. The Ameer once more sought refuge in the British camp. General Roberts marched straight upon the city, and after some sharp fighting with the Afghan mutineers he entered the Bala Hissar on the 12th of October. It appeared from a complete disclosure of the facts that Yakoob Khan could not be acquitted of bad faith or incompetence, and it was announced in a proclamation from General Roberts that the Ameer had abdicated, and that the future government of the country would be settled after the restoration of order and with the advice of the Sirdars. The Shutargardan route was temporarily abandoned, partly in consequence of the weather, partly owing to the restlessness of the hill tribes. But communication with India was once more opened up through the Khyber. The General, no doubt, ruled with a strong hand.

Yakoob Khan was deported to Peshawur. The disarmament of the population was energetically enforced. An attempted junction of the rebel tribes and mutinous soldiery, who had lately shown a reviving spirit, was struck at by a combined movement, which, unfortunately, failed. A portion of our forces met with a sharp check, and though this was to some extent retrieved by successes immediately obtained over the enemy, the situation appeared so grave that on the 15th of December Sir Frederick Roberts deemed it expedient to concentrate his forces in the Sherpur cantonment outside Cabul. The communications were presently interrupted, and for some days the most painful anxieties prevailed. But Sir Frederick Roberts held his ground without flinching; General Gough advanced to his relief promptly, while reinforcements were sent up from the rear; an Afghan attack on the British lines was repulsed a day or two before Christmas, and when a junction with Gough's forces had been effected Cabul was reoccupied.

The Zulu war had not actually begun at the opening of the year, but the prospect of preserving peace was then rapidly vanishing. Sir Bartle Frere had sent an ultimatum to the Zulu King, calling upon him to make reparation for certain alleged outrages on British subjects, to disband his formidable army, to abandon his Spartan system of government, and to accept a British Resident. Cetywayo returned no answer, and on the 11th of January the term of grace allowed by Lord Chelmsford, the Commander-in-Chief, having expired,

13,000 British troops entered Zululand. The plan was that four columns should converge upon the King's Kraal at Ulundi —one in the east, advancing by the coast-line, under Colonel Pearson ; one in the west, advancing from Utrecht under Colonel Wood ; and two, soon afterwards united, crossing the Tugela in its mid-course, under Colonels Glyn and Durnford and accompanied by Lord Chelmsford in person. The Tugela was crossed successfully, and the Zulus seemed likely to make little resistance.

The invading force was tempted into deplorable incaution, and on the 22nd, ten days after the first shot was fired, a military disaster without precedent in our recent annals paralysed the invasion and placed the army and the colonies upon the defensive. Lord Chelmsford had divided Colonel Glyn's column, leaving Colonel Pulleine with one battalion of the 24th Regiment and some colonial levies to encamp at Isandlana, and there to be joined by Colonel Durnford with his native troops, while the General himself marched forward tentatively with the rest of the column. The Zulus came up in immense numbers, and while Lord Chelmsford remained in ignorance that any engagement was taking place, they enticed Colonel Durnford out of his position. When the rout of the native auxiliaries had spread confusion through the British ranks, the enemy poured headlong into the camp, which had not been intrenched or even "laagered," and slaughtered almost the whole of the regular troops, with great numbers of the colonists and natives. The Zulus attempted to follow up their victory, and would, perhaps, have succeeded in cutting off Lord Chelmsford's retreat and in making a raid into Natal had they not been checked by the brilliant defence of the improvised fortifications at Rorke's Drift. This gallant feat of arms, which justly won the Victoria Cross for Major Chard and Major Bromhead, then only lieutenants, somewhat dashed the hopes of the Zulus and restored confidence to the British. But the weight of anxiety was heavy even when Lord Chelmsford had recrossed the Tugela and had concentrated all his forces for the defence of the colony. Colonel Pearson's communications were cut, and he stood on the defensive at Ekowe, at a considerable distance from the Natal border and from the sea. It was impossible to think of relieving the little garrison until reinforcements arrived, for the invasion of the colony by

the Zulus, a rising of the native population, and a revolt of the Boers all seemed for the moment possible.

Unfortunately, the absence of telegraphic communication with the Cape occasioned delay, and for several weeks both at home and in South Africa there was a succession of alarms. Lord Chelmsford, however, set to work vigorously at the re-organisation of offensive and defensive forces. Troops arrived opportunely from the Mauritius, and transports were at once despatched from home. The panic in the colonies subsided as it was seen that the Zulus did not contemplate instant invasion, but concentrated their attacks upon Colonel Pearson's force at Ekowe and Colonel Wood's in the west. At the end of March Colonel Wood's camp at Kambula Kop was assaulted, and though the Zulus were repulsed with loss, their renewed energy was disquieting. Early in April, Lord Chelmsford, though inadequately reinforced, resolved to make a movement for Colonel Pearson's relief. Crossing the Tugela he defeated the Zulus at Ginghilova, setting free the beleaguered garrison of Ekowe. But it was still thought inexpedient to resume the offensive against Cetywayo. Rumours of agitations among the Pondos were rife, and the troops of the Cape Colony were repulsed in an attack upon the rebel Basuto Chief Moirosi.

Meanwhile the Government had sustained repeated attacks on the ground of their South African policy. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had severely rebuked the impatient and insubordinate manner in which Sir Bartle Frere had ventured to give effect to his own convictions, but the Ministry had not yielded to the demand for his removal or to the clamour directed against Lord Chelmsford. The debates, however, on the resolutions of censure moved by Lord Lansdowne in the Upper House and by Sir Charles Dilke in the Lower, showed that the Ministerial majority was somewhat shaken, and the confusion introduced into the Chancellor of the Exchequer's calculations by the increasing war charges was attacked by the Opposition. At the end of May it was announced that Sir Garnet Wolseley had been appointed the Queen's High Commissioner for Natal, the Transvaal, and the neighbouring countries. Sir Bartle Frere remained Governor and High Commissioner for the Cape, and Lord Chelmsford was not superseded, although the supreme command, as a matter of course, fell to Sir Garnet Wolseley. Before Sir Garnet

Wolseley, however, had reached Natal Lord Chelmsford had not only prepared, but actually accomplished, the long-promised advance upon Ulundi. Two columns under General Newdigate and General (previously known as Colonel) Wood closed steadily upon the Zulu army, which had been collected to defend Cetywayo's kraal, and completely crushed it. Sir Garnet Wolseley immediately and cordially acknowledged that the war was now practically at an end. Lord Chelmsford, Sir Evelyn Wood, and many other officers of distinction now returned from South Africa, and were welcomed with national enthusiasm, as well as with public honours and rewards. The Imperial troops were gradually sent home.

Cetywayo fled into the bush, and it was predicted in some quarters that the war would be indefinitely prolonged. But the spirit and the organisation of the Zulus were broken. Chief after chief submitted, and on the 28th of August Cetywayo was captured. The King, who met his fate with much dignity, has been retained as a state prisoner in the Cape Colony. The terms of peace offered by Sir Garnet Wolseley were accepted by the chiefs and the people. Zululand is to be organised henceforward in thirteen separate Governments, with a British Resident exercising control over all, while native laws and customs are to be respected and European immigration is forbidden.

Sir Garnet Wolseley was now able to take in hand the other pressing problems of South African policy. Secocoeni had defied the Government before war was declared against the Zulus, and his subjugation was the indispensable corollary of all that had been achieved. The attitude of the Transvaal Boers was equally embarrassing. They had maintained what might be called a malevolent neutrality during the campaign against Cetywayo, but they had declared to Sir Bartle Frere their resolution not to accept annexation. Sir Garnet Wolseley, however, took an early opportunity of admonishing the Boers, on his visit to Pretoria after the conclusion of peace, that the annexation was an irreversible act. The agitation, nevertheless, did not abate, and the authority of the Government in judicial and fiscal matters was openly defied. But it does not appear that the spirit of resistance will carry the Boers far. Its most serious effect was the encouragement given to Secocoeni. The strongholds of this chief, who defeated the Transvaal Govern-

ment in 1876, were beleaguered by Sir Garnet Wolseley's forces, and finally stormed, early in December, Secocoeni himself being among the prisoners. A similar fate had previously befallen Moirosi, an insurgent leader of the Basutos on the banks of the Orange river, who, earlier in the year, had successfully defied the Cape Government. The Basutos were reduced to submission in November by the Colonial Volunteers, and Moirosi was killed in the storming of his kraal.

In other parts of South Africa, as the year drew to a close, the natives were at peace. The Zulu campaign and the defeats of Secocoeni and Moirosi have taught them lessons which even the most barbarous tribes must appreciate. At the Cape the organisation of local defensive measures is making satisfactory progress, and the establishment of immediate telegraphic communication between England and Natal by a cable from Durban to Mozambique, Zanzibar, and Aden, where it joins the Eastern Telegraph Company's main line, will remove one of the gravest dangers to our dominion in South Africa.

The effort to concentrate public attention, in Parliament and elsewhere, upon domestic business was not very successful. The Afghan and Zulu wars, the execution of the Treaty of Berlin, and the relations of this country with the Governments of Turkey and Egypt formed the ground on which the Opposition found it most convenient to wage a desultory warfare. Legislation made little progress. If the Ministry was apparently wanting in energy, its opponents did not display greater spirit and resolution. There was, in fact, no unmistakable demand in any quarter for changes in the law. The shadow of the approaching dissolution hung heavily over the political world. Unconsciously, perhaps, all public men shaped their acts and declarations with reference to the coming conflict. The Opposition, encouraged by the financial and other embarrassments of the Government, multiplied its attacks and grew bolder in its challenges. The Ministerial majority was undiminished, but it seemed to be less effectual than much smaller majorities have often been for expediting Parliamentary business.

It is true that at no former time have the Ministers of the Crown had to contend with such difficulties as those created by the Irish Home Rule Obstructionists. Mr. Parnell, his followers and his imitators, brought to perfection during the session of 1879 their peculiar strategy. The House of

Commons has spent a great deal of time on the consideration of the question whether something may not be done to curb or punish deliberate attacks upon the credit and efficiency of Parliament, but as yet without result. The Obstructionists have been able for the first time to count upon the co-operation of a section of the English and Scotch members, probably in view of the general election. The adhesion of the Irish vote in some of the large towns of England and Scotland had become a matter of pressing concernment to many politicians, and Mr. Parnell, it was believed, could turn the scale in several constituencies.

The success of Parliamentary obstruction, however, had produced a revulsion of feeling among the majority in the House of Commons, while it gave a blow to the union of the Home Rule party. Mr. Butt, whose health had been declining for many months, did not return to his place in Parliament after the Christmas vacation. His authority was openly defied by the "active" party, and his popularity in Ireland had almost vanished when he died early in May last. The power which the Home Rule leader had once wielded was even then passing into the hands of more violent politicians, but the majority of the "Irish Parliamentary party" was still composed of men having some regard for moderation, and Mr. Shaw, M.P. for the county of Cork, was elected as Mr. Butt's successor to the leadership in the House of Commons. Mr. Shaw, with most of his followers, held aloof from and discountenanced the proceedings of the Obstructionists during the debates upon the Army Regulation Bill and other Government business, and his prudence may have conduced to the large concessions which the Ministry made to the Irish demands in the University Education Bill.

At the opening of the session Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Lowther had declared that it was not the intention of the Government to introduce any measure dealing with the Irish University system, and it was understood that during some informal negotiations in Dublin the Roman Catholic prelates had put forward impracticable demands. The O'Conor Don, however, having introduced a Bill which, though objectionable for many reasons to both parties, fell short of the extreme pretensions of the hierarchy, a Ministerial measure was announced, which proposed to substitute an examining Board for the Queen's

University. The Bill was condemned as inadequate by the leaders of the Opposition in the House of Lords, and when it reached the Lower House modifications were introduced, making it a scheme of academic endowment, with the prospect of future extension. It was carried with the co-operation of Mr. Shaw and his followers, and with the approval of the front Opposition bench. It seems, however, to have had as yet little effect in conciliating Irish opinion.

During the last few months Mr. Parnell has been more conspicuous than ever. On his return to Ireland he conspicuously failed in an attempt to reorganise the Home Rule policy through a Convention, which, it was anticipated, would compel the moderate section of the party to submit to the irreconcilable enemies of the English connection. An attempt to stir up an agrarian agitation met with more success. The demand of the Irish tenant-farmers for fixity of tenure had been previously put forward by Mr. Butt, Mr. Shaw, and other Home Rule members, but Mr. Parnell took different ground. The farmers of Ireland had suffered less than those of England and Scotland from the inclement weather and the disappointing harvest, but in many districts, where the population was steeped in poverty, where the potato crop had failed, and where the peat had been saturated by the incessant rains, distress was clearly to be looked for in the winter. This was seized upon as a pretext for demanding a general reduction of rents, and large crowds gathered to hear Mr. Parnell and his lieutenants denounce landlordism and recommend a simple plan of meeting the emergency. Mr. Parnell was persistent in his counsel, which was that the tenants should pay no rent whatever, unless they were granted a "fair" reduction, and that while so refusing to pay they should keep a "firm grip" of the land. It was feared that if rents were thus held back, even in districts where no distress prevailed, any attempts to evict tenants for non-payment would bring the masses, stimulated and inflamed by agitation, into conflict with the law.

Upon the whole, however, the result has been less alarming than might have been anticipated. Some of the subordinate agitators, following Mr. Parnell, though with less skill in avoiding a direct breach of the law, used language at meetings in the west of Ireland which induced the Government to arrest them and indict them on a charge of sedition. Whether

convictions can be obtained or not, the immediate effect of these proceedings has been to produce a notable diminution in the violence of the agitation. It is acknowledged, however, that the sufferings of the peasants in the West are likely to be severe during the coming winter. The Duchess of Marlborough has invited the British public to subscribe for the relief of the destitute peasantry, with guarantees for the prudence of the aid bestowed, and with testimony, which will not be contested, that help is sorely needed.

While Ireland was stirred by an agrarian agitation, Great Britain was the scene of a determined and passionate political campaign. No sooner had Parliament been prorogued than the rival parties opened fire upon each other. Mr. Gladstone, three days after the prorogation, attacked the Government at Chester, and Sir Charles Dilke at Chelsea. Mr. Goschen followed on the same side at Ripon. At the Sheffield Cutlers' Feast Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Stanhope replied to these criticisms. Lord Hartington in Radnorshire and Mr. Grant Duff in Elgin renewed the skirmishing. In the midst of the dismay caused by the news of the British Envoy's murder in Cabul, Lord Beaconsfield surprised the country at Aylesbury by studiously ignoring foreign affairs. The battle was renewed with heavier metal as the autumn wore on. Lord Hartington delivered two important speeches at Newcastle in September, and Sir William Harcourt assailed the Government in his happiest vein at Southport and Liverpool. The Home Secretary retorted at Leigh and Clitheroe. Mr. Childers made a rejoinder at Pontefract. At the close of October Lord Salisbury visited Manchester with Mr. Cross and Colonel Stanley, and received an enthusiastic reception, which, however, was fully equalled, if not outdone, by the welcome given a week later in the same city to Lord Hartington and Mr. Bright.

These oratorical displays seem to have been mainly intended to discipline the fighting powers of partisans and to rouse the political spirit of the constituencies. Rarely was any new argument adduced either in denunciation or in defence of the Government. The criticism of Turkish and Indian affairs, which had been exhausted in Parliament, was again paraded on both sides, but, as was, indeed, inevitable, the financial results of the Ministerial policy were censured with increasing severity.

The Prime Minister's speech at the Guildhall on Lord Mayor's Day had been anticipated with general curiosity, as likely to contain some interesting references to the Ministerial policy and the relations of the Empire. But Lord Beaconsfield was more than usually reserved. He spoke with ominous mystery of the state of Europe, "covered with armed millions of men," and would only express a qualified hope of the maintenance of peace. He enjoined Englishmen to hold fast by the motto, *Imperium et Libertas*, and pointed out the manifold perils of an "insular policy." He, as well as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, rejoiced in the improvement of trade, and was hopeful that financial embarrassments would soon disappear.

The Opposition, which professed to desire an immediate dissolution, exulted in what they proclaimed to be a proof that the Ministry was afraid to face the country, and asserted, with some appearance of reason, that the municipal elections of November showed a change in popular feeling. Mr. Lowe at Grantham assailed the Ministry with peculiar bitterness. At a great Liberal demonstration at Leeds the Duke of Argyll went still further; and though the effect of his speech was mitigated by Mr. Forster's more moderate and impressive statement of Liberal views, the heat of the strife grew visibly more intense.

The crowning episode of this protracted party warfare was Mr. Gladstone's extraordinary campaign in Scotland, which began in the last week of November, and lasted, almost without a day's intermission, for an entire fortnight. At the beginning of the year Mr. Gladstone had been invited to become the Liberal candidate for Midlothian, a constituency traditionally subject to the Conservative influence of the ducal house of Buccleuch. This resolution of the former leader of the Liberal party to attack a hostile stronghold was welcomed by a section of the Opposition, and as a succession of oratorical *tours de force* his performances in Scotland have never been surpassed. During the first week he reviewed for the Midlothian electors the whole field of politics, domestic, foreign, financial, ecclesiastical, and local, in a series of elaborate speeches quickened with a peculiar glow of personal ardour. Quitting Edinburgh, he carried the fiery cross northwards into Perthshire, and again returning to the south-west, he delivered his Rectorial address—as a mere interlude in graver labours—before the University of Glasgow, instantly resuming the political controversy, and

sustaining it all the way home through Scotland and the north of England as far as Chester. Whatever may be the permanent value of Mr. Gladstone's criticisms, it is certain that while he thus plunged into the fray he attracted the gaze of friends and foes alike. When he retired the strife once more languished. It was scarcely revived by a Conservative demonstration at Leeds just before Christmas, in which Sir Stafford Northcote defended his financial policy and vindicated the measures of the Government at home and abroad.

The effect upon public opinion of this clash of argumentation was not clear. The evidence of such contests as that for the vacancy in the representation of Sheffield, created by Mr. Roebuck's death, was keenly scanned and canvassed. The most vulnerable point in the Ministerial policy was finance. It was not possible to ignore, though it might be easy to excuse, the fact that Sir Stafford Northcote's budget calculations during the past two years have been signally deranged by events. In April last the Chancellor of the Exchequer, having once more to deal with a large floating debt, determined merely to renew his bills, and to postpone for twelve months longer any permanent arrangement for meeting those obligations. The country was then suffering from commercial, industrial, and agricultural depression, and it was not deemed advisable to make any addition to the burdens of direct or indirect taxation. Sir Stafford Northcote assumed that before the close of the year there would be a business revival at home, and that the political sky would clear abroad. On these assumptions he deferred payment of £5,350,000, to which, at the end of the session, he was compelled to add £1,163,000 for the estimated extraordinary expenditure in South Africa up to that date. But the South African expenditure has been going on ever since, though no doubt at a reduced rate, and the renewal of troubles in Afghanistan must impose some immediate, if not permanent, charges upon the Imperial Treasury. The agricultural depression has become more serious, and the improvement in various branches of trade has not yet had time to produce a favourable effect on the revenue receipts. Sir Stafford Northcote reckoned nine months ago that the revenue for 1879-80 would bring in almost precisely the sum received in 1878-79, but the returns for the first three quarters of the year will fall short, it is to be feared, of that reckoning.

by a considerable sum. It is to be noted that during 1879 the price of Consols has been maintained at a high level, and that the market fluctuations have been confined within narrow limits.

The execution of the Treaty of Berlin was a principal subject of international preoccupation and controversy during the early part of the year. Predictions that the settlement could not be carried out or would immediately collapse were frequent and bold. Lord Dufferin, whose political tact had been tried and proved in Canada, was selected by the Government as Ambassador at the Russian Court. He was entertained on the eve of his departure by the Liberal party at the Reform Club, and it is probable that in Russia this was accepted as a warning that where national interests were at stake English politicians would not be separated by party distinctions. At Constantinople the Administration of Khaireddin Pasha continued to promise reforms while pressing urgently for financial aid. The most critical points to be arranged were those involved in the reconstruction of government in the Balkan Peninsula under the terms of the treaty. A succession of alarms were raised, and one by one subsided. It was rumoured that the Bulgarian Assembly, which met at Tirnova early in the year, would choose some dangerous candidate as Prince, either Prince Dondoukoff Korsakoff, the Russian representative, or Prince Charles of Roumania, or Prince Nicholas of Montenegro. It was asserted that the people of Eastern Roumelia would never sanction the organisation of a separate Government from that of Bulgaria, and that, if no external force were applied when the Russian troops withdrew, there would be a popular rising and a defiance alike of Turkey and of Europe. It was prophesied that the evacuation of the occupied provinces would not be carried out by Russia, but that pretexts would be found for retaining Russian troops south of the Danube, if not south of the Balkans.

In the attitude of the Turkish Government causes for apprehension were also discovered. The final treaty of peace with Russia would not, it was said, be signed, and war might break out afresh; the convention securing to Austria the peaceable possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be refused; the boundary dispute with Greece would be prolonged and exacerbated. These fears were partially justified

by the language of the agents of Russia, who, however, were disowned by Prince Gortchakoff. But looking back upon this group of controversies we can now see that the tangled skein has been very creditably unravelled. Scarcely one of the problems which seemed so grave ten or eleven months ago has by this time failed to find a solution. The panic with respect to a possible insurrection in Eastern Roumelia on the withdrawal of the Russian troops led to a proposal for a "joint occupation" of the country, which was seriously entertained by the Great Powers. Germany, France, and Italy, however, were unwilling to send contingents; the acquiescence of the Sultan was doubtful; and the scheme was accordingly abandoned. Aleko Pasha, a Bulgarian Greek in the Turkish service, was appointed by the Sultan Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia, with the International Commission as a council of advice, and a militia to keep order. Turkey, at the same time, agreed to postpone the garrisoning of the Balkans until the delimitation was completed. This plan was successfully set in action. In the meantime the Bulgarian Assembly elected Prince Alexander of Battenberg, a scion of the Ducal House of Hesse by a morganatic marriage, and a near kinsman of the Czar, as Sovereign of the Principality.

The evacuation of the occupied provinces by Russia, though begun on the date fixed in the treaty, was not completed before the 3rd of August, twelve months after the exchange of ratifications at Berlin. But for five months past there has been no disturbance of the peace in these regions. The separate Governments of East Roumelia and Bulgaria acquiesce in the decision of the Powers. The delimitation difficulties are being one by one removed, although neither Greece nor Montenegro has as yet obtained the territorial concessions which were promised at Berlin. The resistance of Turkey to the claims of Greece, recognised as legitimate by one of the protocols of the treaty, led to a vehement demonstration of public opinion in France and to the strongest diplomatic intervention on the part of the French Government. In this country, also, the right of the Greeks to obtain peaceable possession of the territory promised in the protocol was generally conceded, and a powerful effect was produced by a public meeting in Willis's Rooms to demand the fulfilment of the pledge.

France was at first inclined to suspect that in this matter

England was playing an insincere part, but the suspicion, which was entirely groundless, wore away, and the whole influence of Europe for months past has been directed to promoting a peaceful settlement of the dispute, which at last appears to be near at hand. Unfortunately, the chances of bringing the Ottoman Government to a better sense of its own interests have not been improved by recent events at Constantinople. Khaireddin Pasha's Ministry carried Turkey through more than one grave crisis. The influence of the Grand Vizier was exerted to procure the ratification of the Austro-Turkish Convention, but he failed to give any effective impulse to reform, and he was opposed by many powerful Pashas, including Ghazi Osman, the hero of Plevna. A series of palace intrigues ended in the overthrow of Khaireddin at the end of July and the appointment of a Ministry presumed to be reactionary, in which Mahmoud Nedim, the most distrusted of Turkish politicians, was the ruling spirit. In November Sir Henry Layard was instructed to make an energetic representation to the Porte upon the subject of the reforms promised in the Anglo-Turkish Convention, and as the British fleet happened to be at the same time ordered into Turkish waters, though not, it would seem, for the purpose of coercing the Pashas, there was something like a panic in the Divan. Liberal promises were again made, and the appointment of Baker Pasha to a mission of inquiry in Asia was accepted as an earnest of the Porte's sincerity. It is doubtful whether this appointment means anything, and still more whether it will be followed up by more substantial concessions.

The settlement of the Eastern Question by the Treaty of Berlin led directly to an alliance between Austria and Germany, which, however, looks in all probability quite as much to eventualities in Western Europe as in the East. The certainty that such a *rapprochement* was at hand stimulated the Russian Press to a violent attack upon German policy, which was as sharply answered at Berlin. Though the acerbity of the quarrel was tempered by personal compliments exchanged between the Emperor William and his nephew, the Czar, the Austro-German alliance was not less rapidly developed. Count Andrassy had determined, mainly for reasons connected with the state of his health, to retire from the administration of foreign affairs in Austria-Hungary after twelve years of con-

tinuous service. The defeat of the Constitutional Liberals of the Cisleithian kingdom and the formation of a Ministry at Vienna under Count Taaffe, in which the reactionary, clerical, and separatist elements were strong, were naturally alarming to the Magyar adherents of the Dual Constitution ; but Count Andrassy's external policy, especially in respect of the Bosnian acquisition, was staunchly upheld. In maintaining this settlement Austria and Germany were at one.

Count Andrassy early in the autumn paid a visit to the German Chancellor at Berlin, and Prince Bismarck in turn was received at Vienna with unusual attention. Long conferences took place between the Prince and the Austrian statesman. Count Andrassy, it was evident, had secured for his successor, Baron Haymerle, the confidence which he had himself long enjoyed at Berlin, and the alliance, although not embodied in formal documentary pledges, was accepted by Europe as a pregnant fact. Its immediate effect has been to put an end to most of the sinister predictions which had been previously spent upon the results of the Berlin Treaty. Lord Salisbury hailed the announcement of the alliance as "glad tidings of great joy" in his Manchester speech, but it was criticised with bitterness in Russia, in France, and in Italy. The policy carried out by Prince Bismarck seemed at once to throw Russian ambition back from the Balkan provinces, and to crush French hopes of recovering Alsace-Lorraine.

Italy saw in the consolidation of German and Austrian interests a barrier against the advances of her more daring patriots upon the Southern Tyrol, Trieste, and Istria, and the Eastern shores of the Adriatic. It is true that Italian statesmen of both parties have, in reply to a pamphlet published by an Austrian officer, repudiated the wild designs of the *Italia Irredenta* agitation. The weakness, however, of Parliamentary government in Italy renders it difficult to trust to the stability of any policy in that country. The Left still commands a great majority of the Chamber of Deputies at Rome, but it is divided and shaken by personal rivalries. During the present year, as in 1878, there have been recurrent Ministerial crises. The Depretis Cabinet was overthrown last summer after half a year's tenure of power, and was succeeded by a new combination of the Left under Signor Cairoli, who was compelled in November to reconstruct

his Ministry and to bring in Signor Depretis as Minister of the Interior.

The internal politics of Germany during the year were of as deep interest to foreign countries as to the Germans themselves. The alienation of Prince Bismarck from the National Liberals had become notorious, and the probability of a Parliamentary alliance between the Conservatives and the Ultramontanes, on the basis of the Chancellor's political reconciliation with the Vatican, was discussed. The Pope wrote in a moderate tone to the Archbishop of Cologne, lamenting the progress of Socialism, with a sympathetic reference to Prince Bismarck's anti-Socialist campaign. Meanwhile the Chancellor had committed himself to two enterprises, both opposed to Liberal principles and traditions. He had declared his conversion to protectionism and his determination to limit what he considered the licence of speech in Parliament.

When the Reichstag met in February, the Speech from the throne, besides an announcement that Austria had agreed to abandon the treaty right under which the Danes claimed a *plébiscite* in North Schleswig, contained a denunciation of the free trade policy. The Liberal majority showed unexpected independence by refusing to permit the prosecution of two Socialist Deputies, and by throwing out the *Maulkorbgesetz*. But when the Tariff project was brought forward the alliance between the Chancellor and the Ultramontanes was disclosed. The National Liberals withdrew from their official positions in the Diet and in the Imperial and Prussian Ministries, and free trade was overthrown with little resistance. The resignation of Dr. Falk, the author of the "May Laws," and the appointment as his successor of Herr von Puttkammer, a connection by marriage of Prince Bismarck and an opponent of mixed schools, encouraged the Ultramontanes. The Liberals were, in proportion, depressed, and at the elections to the Prussian Parliament in the autumn, when Prince Bismarck appealed to the electors to support him on grounds of personal confidence, the Conservatives and their new clerical allies triumphed. The National Liberals and the Progressists were left in a hopeless minority, Dr. Lasker and other prominent men losing their seats. When the Landtag met the Government brought forward a measure for the acquisition by the State of several of the private railway lines in Prussia, with a view

to the ultimate extension of this policy throughout the Empire. The Clericals, however, dissatisfied with the concessions they had obtained, were not amenable to discipline, and the Chancellor took advantage of the opportunity to renew his connection with the Liberals, now in a very tame condition of spirit, and to carry the Railway Bill with their aid.

Events in France have moved swiftly, but without any perilous shocks. The Senatorial elections at the beginning of the year gave the Republican party an effective working majority in the Upper Chamber. M. Dufaure's Cabinet was at once pressed to remove the most conspicuous Anti-Republicans among the Generals and officials. Marshal MacMahon refused to be a party to these measures, and, seeing that resistance was idle, resigned. The Chambers in joint session elected M. Grévy President by 563 votes against 99 given to General Chanzy. M. Gambetta was chosen in succession to M. Grévy as President of the Chamber of Deputies; and M. Dufaure retired from the Ministry, leaving the Premiership to M. Waddington, whose sober and steady foreign policy had won him the respect of Europe. The retirement of M. de Marcère from the Ministry of the Interior before a Radical attack, the Amnesty agitation, and the proposal to impeach the De Broglie Administration for unconstitutional conduct raised difficulties through which the Waddington Administration steered a cautious course. More serious differences arose when M. Jules Ferry, the Minister of Public Instruction, brought forward his Education Bill, the seventh clause of which prohibited members of "unauthorised religious communities" (meaning especially the Jesuits) from teaching or managing schools. M. Ferry's Bill was carried by a large majority of the Chamber of Deputies, but in the Senate a strong party, including many moderate Republicans and led by M. Jules Simon, resisted the seventh clause. The measure, owing to this opposition, was postponed until after the Parliamentary recess, when the Chambers, in accordance with a vote of both Houses in joint session, taken in May, were to reassemble, not at Versailles, but at Paris.

While these intestine struggles and some injudicious attempts to punish the Anti-Republicans for strong language used in the Press and in Parliament tended to damage the Ministry, the disorganisation of the Imperialist party caused by the death of

Prince Louis Napoleon in South Africa and the succession of Prince Napoleon Jerome to the headship of the Bonaparte family visibly strengthened the Republic. The protests and the contentions of the various Imperialist cliques subsided in time, and Prince Napoleon Jerome appears to have accepted his position as a Pretender, subject to the restraints of a prudence in speech as well as in action with which he has not been always credited. During the autumn the Legitimists began a movement for reviving the pretensions of "Henri Cinq," the most conspicuous result of which was that M. Hervé, a leading Orleanist, publicly declared that "the fusion" was at an end, and that the Constitutional Monarchs could no longer follow the Comte de Chambord.

Radicalism was restless and urgent, as was shown early in the year by Blanqui's election at Bordeaux, afterwards annulled by the Chamber, by the reception given to the amnestied Communists, and by the return of one of these as a member of the Municipality of Paris. When the Chambers met the installation at the Luxembourg and the Palais Bourbon was marked by no excitement. The Government was called upon by the Left to prove its Republican character by vigorous measures. M. Waddington declared that no self-respecting Ministry could submit to adopt a programme dictated by a party association, and a vote of confidence rewarded his courage. But the crisis was only stifled for a few days. M. Le Royer, the Minister of Justice, who had vigorously argued against the plenary amnesty, resigned, and the resignation of M. Waddington and the rest of his colleagues quickly followed. A new Cabinet has been formed by M. de Freycinet, lately Minister of Public Works and intimately associated with M. Gambetta's policy during the war, representing the Pure Left rather than the Left Centre.

Spain, until within the last few weeks, was apparently quiet and prospering. The King was personally popular, and the national sympathy freely accorded to him in his family misfortunes was as cordially shown when it was announced that a marriage alliance had been arranged between Alfonso XII. and the Archduchess Maria Christina, a Princess of the House of Austria. After tedious delays and formalities, exacted by the strict etiquette of the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, the marriage was celebrated with great splendour in the Spanish

capital at the end of November. Before the festivities were over a political crisis supervened. On the return of Marshal Martinez Campos from Cuba, where a pacification had been effected as much by promises of reform as by force of arms, Señor Canovas del Castillo retired from the Premiership, and Marshal Campos became Prime Minister, accepting as his colleagues the principal associates of Señor Canovas. The skilful resistance of the latter delayed and defeated all the Marshal's free-trade and emancipation projects, so that on the reassembling of the Cortes in December he was compelled to resign. Señor Canovas has returned to power and begun to govern with a strong hand. The Parliamentary minority of Constitutional Liberals has withdrawn from the Cortes; many Generals attached to Marshal Campos have resigned or been dismissed; civil liberties have been temporarily suspended in Madrid, and there are fears that the insurrection in Cuba which has already broken out may again become formidable.

In Belgium the Liberal Government is engaged in a conflict with the priesthood. The communal schools having been placed under restrictions as to religious teaching resembling those enforced in the National schools in Ireland, the hierarchy denounced the system, and gave orders that the Sacraments should be refused to the parents of any children attending such schools after the interdict. The Pope has discountenanced this violent policy, which appears to be practically a failure.

The Russian polity has sustained during the year a succession of startling shocks. The excitement of military and diplomatic conflict having passed away, discontent was rapidly bred in Russia. The financial disorders and the sense of national disappointment were perverted to their own ends by the Nihilist revolutionaries. General Drenteln, Chief of the Secret Police, was attacked by assassins, as his predecessors Generals Trepoff and Mesentzoff had been, and Prince Krapotkine, the Governor of Kharkoff, was murdered. Many other victims of less note perished in the ranks of the army and bureaucracy; incendiary fires became common, and the revolutionists daringly proclaimed their intention of striking terror by these crimes into the hearts of their rulers. The indignation and the dismay of Russian society were completed in April last by a bold attempt upon the life of the Czar, in the Winter Garden at St. Petersburg, where a fanatic named

Solovieff fired several shots from a revolver point-blank at Alexander II. Though the assassin missed his aim the panic following his attempt took the form of a "Terror." The capital was placed in a state of siege, liberty was for the moment abolished, and vehement appeals were made to the Governments of Europe to adopt such a law of extradition as would enable the Russian police to hunt down the Revolutionists in Switzerland and elsewhere. These extreme measures failed, as might have been expected ; and their rigour was soon relaxed. The Russian Government was believed to be contemplating some liberal concessions, when, on the 1st of December, as the Emperor was returning from Livadia, a mine was sprung upon a baggage train, mistaken for the train conveying the Imperial party, on the outskirts of Moscow. The deliberation and ferocity of this plot renewed the panic of last April, and as the year closes the future of Russia is wrapped in deep gloom. Count Schouvaloff, who lately retired from the Embassy in London, and has been since the outrage the guest of Prince Bismarck at Varzin, has been credited with a reform policy which may prevail and work for good.

Hitherto there has been no success achieved by Russian diplomatists or soldiers to draw away attention from the gloomy prospect at home. The arrangements of the Treaty of Berlin have been carried out, in spite of the imprudent disparagement which Russian officials permitted themselves. Austria has been guaranteed the possession of Bosnia by the German alliance. The patronage which General Kaufmann was inclined to extend to Shere Ali at the beginning of the Afghan war has been disavowed and withdrawn. The revival of Chinese power in Central Asia shown in the conquest of Kashgar has led to the retrocession of Kuldja by Russia. The expedition against the Tekke Turcomans, which started in the summer from the Caucasus under General Lazareff, and, crossing the Caspian to Tchikishlar on the south-eastern coast with 30,000 men, advanced in the direction of Merv, has been as unfortunate as similar adventures in former times. General Lomakine, who succeeded Lazareff on the latter's death, pushed on with some 1400 men, it is said, against the chief Turcoman stronghold, and after obstinate fighting was compelled to retreat, suffering heavy losses.

The Egyptian difficulty forms a distinct chapter of the

Eastern Question. The Ministry formed by Nubar Pasha at the close of last year, into which Mr. Rivers Wilson and M. de Blignières had been admitted as representing the interests of the Western Powers, was overthrown in February by an *émeute* which the Khedive was suspected of fostering. A strong movement for intervention was originated in France by powerful financial bodies interested in the Egyptian Debt, and a joint representation of the French and English Governments resulted in the apparent submission of Ismail Pasha and the formation of a new Cabinet under Prince Tewfik, the Khedive's heir, in which the European Ministers were to have a commanding voice. This arrangement lasted for a few weeks. In April the Khedive, declaring that the Ministerial measures were unjust to the bondholders and damaging to the public credit, dismissed his advisers. After some delay, due to the difficulty of inducing the Powers to agree as to the course to be pursued, and after Ismail Pasha had turned a deaf ear to a suggestion of abdication urged upon him by the European Consuls-General, the Sultan, prompted by France and England, issued a firman deposing Ismail, and nominating Tewfik Khedive. Ismail Pasha retired to Naples, and, after vain attempts to assert his independence, Tewfik submitted. Mr. Baring and M. de Blignières were appointed "Comptrollers-General," with power to supervise the whole financial system, and the interests which the Powers had interfered to protect have been, it is supposed, secured. An ominous difficulty, however, has arisen with Abyssinia, one result of which is that Gordon Pasha has been compelled to abandon his task of civilising the Soudan and suppressing the slave trade.

Our Indian Empire during the past year was occupied with external questions, of which the Afghan war was, of course, the chief. At one time another war was believed to be impending upon the north-eastern frontier, where the young King of Burmah, Thebaw, rapidly developed all the worst vices of the despot, including insolence towards his neighbours as well as cruelty towards his subjects. Burmese troops were massed upon the borders of the British province, the language of the King became insulting, and the remonstrances which were urged by the Government of India against the horrors perpetrated by Thebaw were left unanswered. A cry for the annexation of Burmah was raised by the commercial community

at Rangoon, but, like a similar cry raised by over-zealous officials and eager traders for the annexation of Cashmere, it was not heeded by Lord Lytton. The lamented death of Mr. Shaw, our Resident at Mandalay, was followed, when it appeared that Thebaw was inaccessible to reason, by the withdrawal of his successor, and finally by the removal of the Mission. The Burmese Court appears to have been taken aback by this measure, and the King has since tried to send envoys, who have not been received, to the Indian Government to protest that he never meant any harm. For the present, at least, all danger in this quarter has been removed. Within the Empire, though the war might be supposed to have given an opportunity for disloyal movements, tranquillity has prevailed. The masses have not been moved, apparently, by the grievances which agitate their English patrons, and the feudatory princes have displayed confidence in the strength and justice of the British cause.

In the Bombay Presidency some alarming dacoit robberies, menaces of violence to officials, and acts of incendiarism at Poona and elsewhere were found to be connected with the plots of a fanatical Mahratta, who has been recently brought to justice. The Rumpa disturbances in the Madras Presidency would have no doubt been as easily suppressed if they had not been weakly allowed to make head. It cannot be denied that the financial question has become very grave. Sir John Strachey was compelled to confess that losses by exchange and the demands of war rendered it impossible to set aside the promised famine insurance fund out of the new taxes. The home Government have since resolved that a strictly economical policy shall be carried out. Expenditure on public works has been greatly restricted; a larger proportion of natives are to be employed in the Civil Service at lower salaries; and a Commission has been appointed to inquire how far reductions in the army charges can be safely effected.

The relations of the British colonies with the mother country have been actively discussed. In Canada, the Macdonald Ministry having advised the Governor-General to remove the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec on the ground that he had unconstitutionally dismissed his local Ministers, the Marquis of Lorne wished to refer the question to the home Government. His right to do so, upon

a construction of the appointing clause in the Act of Union, was challenged by the Canadian Conservatives, and was not upheld by the Colonial Office. Sir John Macdonald and his colleagues accordingly dismissed M. Letellier, whose successor, M. Robitaille, restored the local Conservatives to power in Quebec. The home Government also declined to interfere with the new Protectionist tariff of the Dominion, to which Mr. Bright called attention in the House of Commons.

Acting on the same non-intervention principles, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach refused to promise a settlement by Imperial legislation of the reform question in Victoria, which Mr. Berry and Mr. Pearson, representing the Democratic Ministry at Melbourne, had come to England to advocate. The Secretary of State recommended the colonists to come to a compromise among themselves, though he hinted that if the Council rejected all reasonable proposals the difficulty might have to be terminated by extraordinary means. Mr. Berry's Reform Bill, brought forward in the autumn session, included the *plébiscite* and other objectionable provisions, and failed to obtain the support, as required by law, of an absolute majority even in the Assembly. It has, therefore, been abandoned, and an appeal to the constituencies is impending, which will turn in part upon the popular feeling with respect to the protective tariff.

In New South Wales, and generally throughout the other Australian colonies, public attention has been absorbed by the Exhibition at Sydney, which has achieved a remarkable success. Sir George Grey's Administration in New Zealand, shaken by the apparent danger of a Maori rising, and by a reaction against a Democratic policy as violent as Mr. Berry's, was defeated at the general election, and a new Ministry has been formed by Mr. Hall. In the Cape Colony the question of Confederation has been put aside by the Ministry, on the ground that peace must first be restored; but the Colonial Office has expressed an opinion that the adoption of a defensive system for the whole of the South African colonies, and the liberation of the mother country from the burden of native wars, do not admit of further delay.

The United States have enjoyed a year of unchequered good fortune, the more highly prized because it succeeded a long and dreary period of adversity. The return to specie payment

on New Year's Day was effected without any of the difficulties which the Inflationists had predicted, and the good sense of the community promptly repressed the belligerent ardour of the politicians on both sides. The management of the Treasury by Mr. Sherman upon sound principles of finance showed results so encouraging in the refunding and repayment of debt and the reduction of the interest charge that it would have been palpably foolish to have altered his practice. The revival of trade was rapid ; the abounding prosperity of the agricultural classes, crowned by one of the richest harvests ever seen, stimulated manufacturing industry, and gave an impulse to railway enterprise.

The Administration of President Hayes, however, made little progress in popular favour ; and the reform promises of its earlier years were practically abandoned. The errors of the Democrats were more flagrant ; they coquetted with every dangerous and disreputable movement, with the "Greenbackers," "the Champions of Labour," and the "Bull-dozers" of the South. Mr. Tilden, their recognised leader, fell in popular esteem as his conduct during the last Presidential campaign was disclosed, and his position was further weakened by the defeat of his party in New York State through the revolt of the Tammany Hall organisation, which controls the Democratic vote in the city. The Fall elections showed large Republican gains all through the North and West.

Meanwhile General Grant, who had left England at the beginning of the year and had travelled through the Far East, returned to the United States by way of San Francisco. He was welcomed with extraordinary enthusiasm on the "Pacific Slope," in the Mississippi valley, and, finally, in the Atlantic States. The Republican party are apparently coming to the conclusion that General Grant can most effectually serve their cause by accepting another Presidential nomination. A massacre of officials and other whites upon one of the Indian reservations of the Far West has revived in a painful form a problem which embarrassed former Governments.

The influence of the United States was vainly exerted to put an end to the war between the Republics on the Pacific coast of South America. A dispute concerning the nitrate deposits in the Atacama desert brought Chili into collision with Bolivia and Peru early in the year. The Chilians were successful at

the outset. They obtained possession of the disputed territory, and so crippled the Peruvian navy that the famous *Huascar* was almost left alone to defend Peru upon the seas. This vessel, however, for a long time defied the whole Chilian fleet, paralysed Chilian commerce, and threatened the coast towns of Chili with a raid. At last she succumbed to superior forces, being destroyed in an engagement with a powerful Chilian squadron. Thenceforward the fortunes of Peru and Bolivia have rapidly declined ; Pisagua and Iquique, two of the chief Peruvian ports, have been captured by the combined land and sea forces of Chili ; and, though it is alleged a drawn battle has since been fought, the close of the struggle is plainly at hand.

On the continent of Europe the year has been as depressing as at home. The destruction of the Hungarian city of Szegedin by the overflowing of the river Theiss in March was paralleled by the ruinous floods which devastated south-eastern Spain in October. In parts of France and Germany the failure of the crops has caused widespread distress, attaining in Silesia to the height of a famine, for the alleviation of which the Government has been compelled to make extraordinary provision. All former railway accidents in this country have been outdone in horror by the ruin of the Tay Bridge and the destruction of a train crowded with passengers. The bursting of one of the 38-ton guns on board the *Thunderer* was investigated by a Commission, which arrived at the conclusion, which did not escape criticism, that a double charge had been rammed down, and that this accident was the cause of the disaster.

The army, however, rather than the navy, was productive of controversial topics. Lord Chelmsford's capacity as a commander was debated with extreme bitterness after Isandlana ; but it was subsequently recognised that his errors did not merit the impatient censure that had been heaped upon them. The Court-Martial upon Captain Carey for alleged cowardice and breach of duty in failing to rescue Prince Louis Bonaparte afforded another instance of hasty injustice, for which reparation had to be made in a calmer mood. The whole subject of our military organisation was brought forward for discussion in an article which appeared in our columns last summer, and which opened up a serious and still unsettled controversy.

We may record, in the social annals of the year, the marriage of the Duke of Connaught with the daughter of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia and the Queen's visit to Baveno. Society has felt the adverse influences which are clearly marked in business; nor did art and literature escape the prevailing depression.

The Government, in accordance with a pledge obtained by Mr. Fawcett at the close of last session, has given notice of the introduction of a Bill for the purchase of the London Water Companies. The fourth London School Board was elected in November, after a sharp contest, turning mainly upon the question of economy, which resulted in the return of a majority favourable to the policy pursued by the Board during the past three years. Higher education in the North of England will be advanced, it is hoped, by the concession of a Royal Charter to the "Victoria University," which is to embrace Owens College, Manchester, and other provincial establishments of the same class.

The elevation of John Henry Newman to the Cardinalate and the reception of M. Renan as an Academician are the most noticeable events in the ecclesiastical and literary annals of the year.

Few law cases of permanent importance were tried in 1879. The directors of the City of Glasgow Bank were convicted in February of concocting or issuing fraudulent balance-sheets, and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from eight months to fourteen months. More important, perhaps, was the decision of the House of Lords upon the liability of trustees holding bank stock. The conviction and execution of Peace for the Banner Cross murder and of Catherine Webster for the Richmond murder, the trial and acquittal of Hannah Dobbs for the Euston Square murder, and the subsequent prosecution of Bastendorff for perjury were among the *causes célèbres* of the year.

Parliament interfered in some peculiar cases; the capital sentence upon Mainwaring, who had been found guilty of murder by a jury which had decided the question by drawing lots, was commuted by Mr. Cross, who also granted a free pardon and a pecuniary compensation to Habron, an innocent man undergoing penal servitude for one of Peace's crimes. In the case of Galley, who, it was alleged, had been wrongfully

convicted more than a generation ago, the Home Secretary's opinion was contradicted by a vote of the House of Commons. A Parliamentary question of some moment was determined in the case of Sir Bryan O'Loghlen, who was declared to have vacated his seat for the county of Clare by accepting office in the colony of Victoria. The exercise of the penal jurisdiction of the House of Commons in the case of Mr. Grissell and Mr. Ward, who had pretended to be able to influence the decision of a Private Bill Committee, may prove an important precedent.

The death-roll of the year 1879 includes few names of the first rank in politics, literature, or art. One of the most painful incidents of the Zulu war was the death of Prince Louis Napoleon, the heir to the Imperialist aspirations of the Bonaparte family. The Prince Imperial, who had received his military education at Woolwich and had many friends in the British army, sought permission, which was, unfortunately, granted, to take part as a spectator in the South African campaign. On the 1st of June he was allowed to accompany a reconnoitring party with an ill-defined right of command. The Prince, Captain Carey, and eight troopers, were surprised by a large body of Zulus, and took to their horses. Unluckily, the Prince failed to mount in time, lost his horse, and fell, pierced by eighteen assegai wounds. His death was deeply lamented in England, and his funeral at Chislehurst was honoured by the presence of the Royal Family and of an immense concourse of persons in all ranks of society.

Another personage whose death was of some political importance was the Prince of Orange, the heir-apparent to the throne of Holland, whose life in Paris had for many years estranged him from his family and his country.

General Peel, who passed away in his eightieth year, had been a member of two Conservative Cabinets, and his sterling honesty and simplicity of character were proved by his retirement from office, and soon afterwards from political life, when he found himself unable to agree with Lord Derby's policy in 1867. Lord Lawrence was a servant of the Indian Government who left his mark upon the history of the Empire. He reorganised the Punjab under British rule, and kept that province true to England during the Mutiny. He was one of the most zealous and laborious of Viceroys, although his policy received, perhaps, an unusual share of criticism. At

home, although regarded as an authority on Eastern questions, he sought other fields of work, and in 1870 he became chairman of the first London School Board. In Mr. Roebuck the House of Commons has lost a characteristic figure ; his trenchant criticism of friends and foes will be missed in debate. Sir Rowland Hill, whose name will be always identified with the development of the postal system, passed away at a green old age. The Irish Home Rule party lost in Mr. Isaac Butt a leader of ability, geniality, and moderation, whose wasted career closed sadly amid wranglings and disappointments.

Of others who died during the past twelve months may be mentioned Frances, Lady Waldegrave, a potent influence in the society of our day ; Sir John Shaw-Lefevre, sometime Clerk of Parliaments ; Mr. J. T. Delane, for six-and-thirty years Editor-in-chief of the *Times* ; Sir Antonio Panizzi, the chief librarian of the British Museum ; the Rev. Dr. M'Neile, Dean of Ripon, a pillar of the Evangelical party in the Church ; Baron Lionel de Rothschild, long M.P. for the city of London ; Sir Thomas Larcom, for many years Permanent Secretary to the Irish Government ; Mr. Hepworth Dixon, a brilliant and hard-working man of letters ; Mr. Keith Johnston, the African explorer, who was cut off in the midst of most fruitful and promising labours ; Mr. George Long, an eminent classical scholar ; Professor W. K. Clifford, a young but very able writer on mathematical and philosophical questions ; Mr. E. M. Ward, the well-known historical painter ; Mr. J. B. Buckstone, the comedian ; and Mr. Fechter, the tragedian.

On the Continent there passed away Count von Roon, the real author of the present military organisation of Germany ; the aged Marshal Espartero, ex-Dictator of Spain ; and M. Michel Chevalier, the most resolute champion among modern Frenchmen of the free-trade cause.

In the United States the loss must be recorded of Mr. Henry C. Carey, an economist best known as an advocate of Protectionism ; of Mr. Caleb Cushing, counsel for the American Government before the Geneva Tribunal ; and of William Lloyd Garrison, the Abolitionist.

## 1880

THE year which comes to an end to-day will be memorable as opening a new chapter in our political annals. It was marked, indeed, by a decisive and promising revival of all branches of trade after an unprecedented period of depression, and by a harvest of moderate excellence, which, succeeding the worst season that the country had known for more than two generations, was thankfully welcomed. But the transfer of power from the Conservative to the Liberal party, the change in the composition and the internal relations of the latter, and the new spirit and direction given in consequence to national policy at home and abroad, threw all other events into the shade.

The situation in Ireland, which was formidable enough before the overthrow of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, assumed more startling proportions during the summer, and at the close of the year the Ministry have to encounter an outbreak of Irish lawlessness unparalleled in recent times. The Irish difficulty, indeed, does not stand alone. The foreign policy of Mr. Gladstone's Government, though successful up to a certain point, has met with a check, and the possibility of compelling Turkey to comply with the demands of the great Powers by the pressure of the European concert is becoming doubtful. In Afghanistan there is still much to be achieved before the Imperial Government can be relieved from the duty of vigilant preparation, if not of active intervention. In South Africa we seem to be entering on a new heritage of perplexities and perils.

The picture, however, is not without touches of light and hopefulness. Reviving trade and a fair harvest have restored a certain measure of elasticity to the revenue. There is ground for looking forward, when next year's Budget is produced in

April, to the realisation of Mr. Gladstone's estimates last summer, and, perhaps, something more. The public credit of the country has never been more secure. Consols were at a high price all through the year, and in the last two months rose more than once above par, so that rumours became current of an intention on the part of Mr. Gladstone to effect a new refunding operation, and to reduce the annual burden of the debt by the issue of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent stock. These conjectures were, at any rate, premature, but the fact that they were circulated and discussed is in itself a proof that a turning-point in the financial history of the world is near. The opportunity which the Americans are about to seize of issuing stock bearing no higher interest than British Consols, and the extraordinary success of the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent loan placed upon the London market a few weeks ago by the Government of India point in the same direction. Capital has accumulated during years of hardship, anxiety, and thrift; safe investments, since the collapse of so many foreign Government loans and American railways, are rarer than ever in comparison with the quantity of disposable money. It is certain that, unless some unexpected check occurs, there will be a new and irresistible outbreak of speculative adventure, the early stirrings of which are already felt throughout our commercial, industrial, and financial system.

The approach of the seventh session of the Parliament elected in 1874 sharpened the passions of parties. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, did not renew his campaign against the Conservative Government in the interval between the Christmas vacation and the meeting of Parliament, but his place was filled by Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Bright, who satirised and denounced the Ministry with unremitting energy. The excitement culminated in the election for Liverpool, which was decided on the 6th of February, the day following the meeting of Parliament. The vacancy created by the death of Mr. Torr was vigorously contested by Mr. Whitley, a local Conservative, and Lord Ramsay, son of the Earl of Dalhousie, who was put forward on the Liberal side. The Irish voters of Liverpool refused to support Lord Ramsay if he did not pledge himself to vote for an inquiry into the demand for Home Rule. The pledge was given, but Lord Ramsay, in spite of his Irish allies, polled only 23,883 votes against 26,106 recorded for Mr. Whitley. This success was followed up by a more unexpected Conservative victory in

Southwark, where Mr. John Locke's death had left a seat vacant. The Liberal vote was divided, a "Labour candidate" refusing to yield to the claims of the regular choice of the Two Hundred. But, as it turned out, Mr. Edward Clarke, the Conservative candidate, polled more votes than both the Liberals together. These successes, together with the marked increase of the Conservative vote at Sheffield and Barnstaple, where Liberals were returned, doubtless encouraged Lord Beaconsfield's Government to hope that the approaching appeal to the country would be in their favour.

The vehement discussion of Irish affairs, both in and out of Parliament, was to a great extent influenced by a desire to move the masses. On the one hand an attempt was made to show that the famine relief measures adopted by the Government in Ireland were wholly inadequate, and that the people would be left to perish through official incapacity and neglect. Mr. Chamberlain was a stout champion of this view—which, it is needless to say, events have since completely refuted—during the debates on the first Irish Distress Bill. But, on the other hand, the Conservatives lost no opportunity of identifying their opponents with Irish disloyalty and disturbance. The resolutions proposed for the suppression of Obstruction in the House of Commons were sustained, however, in principle by Lord Hartington and the great body of the Liberal party; and the Extreme Home Rulers, to whom head was presently given by the deposition of Mr. Shaw from his sessional chairmanship and the elevation of Mr. Parnell, then campaigning in the United States, to that place, showed no disposition to ally themselves with the regular Opposition. The restlessness with which the session opened had somewhat subsided when, in the middle of March, six weeks after the meeting of Parliament, the Government announced that the Dissolution would take place at Easter if the Budget and other indispensable business could be disposed of by that time. The Liberals were eager to accept the challenge, and no obstacle to the winding-up of the session was interposed.

Electioneering addresses and speeches absorbed public attention for weeks. Lord Beaconsfield led off with a letter to the Viceroy of Ireland, which was intended to be a political manifesto. It charged the Liberals, by implication, with advocating a "policy of decomposition," and denounced the Home Rule and

agrarian agitation in Ireland as "a danger, in its ultimate results, scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine." The addresses of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, Sir Stafford Northcote, and Mr. Cross were criticised and discussed, while the business remaining to be transacted in Parliament was neglected and almost forgotten.

The active work of the election campaign was not long delayed. Lord Hartington's able and vigorous speeches in North-East Lancashire attracted special notice, and Mr. Gladstone renewed in Midlothian the oratorical *tours de force* of the preceding winter. One of the most notable incidents of the prolonged contest was Lord Derby's declaration, in a letter to Lord Sefton, that he had finally broken with the Conservative party and taken his place, "however reluctantly," in the ranks of the Liberals. But, on the whole, the battle was fought upon strict party lines. The Conservatives suffered the most crushing defeat they had met with since the first general election after the Reform Bill. The gain of the Liberals in the first day's borough elections alone almost annihilated the majority which had supported Lord Beaconsfield, and every following day showed new conquests on the one side and losses on the other. The secession of the English county voters in large numbers from the Conservative side was a significant fact. In Scotland and in Wales the reaction, as might have been anticipated, almost deprived Conservatism of representation in Parliament. In Ireland two-thirds of the members returned were Home Rulers. When the composition of the new House of Commons was at length made known, it appeared that it consisted of 351 Liberals, 237 Conservatives, and 65 Home Rulers; but bye-elections have to some extent altered these proportions, and the Liberal majority is at present slightly below its estimated strength at the close of the elections in April.

The resignation of Lord Beaconsfield, in accordance with the precedents of 1868 and 1874, was tendered to the Queen as soon as it was clear that the Liberal party had obtained an unquestionable majority. The leaders of the Opposition since Mr. Gladstone's retirement after his former defeat had been Lord Hartington in the Lower House and Lord Granville in the Upper House. These statesmen were consulted in the first instance, but, in accordance with consultations among the chiefs of the party, they recommended the Queen to entrust the task

to the former Liberal Premier. It could not, indeed, be contested that the Liberal victory was due more to the energy and eloquence of Mr. Gladstone than to the qualities, however high, of any other individual or connection. The new Liberal majority was bound, almost without exception, by pledges of personal allegiance to Mr. Gladstone, and the more advanced section of it did not conceal a resolution to regard no one else's authority as binding. Everything pointed to the selection of Mr. Gladstone as the chief of the new Administration, if he were only willing once more to take office. He consented to accept the duty, and his Cabinet was constructed with a view to conciliate and to represent the different sections of the Liberal majority.

Mr. Gladstone himself, with a confident courage that would have become a man in the prime of his powers, undertook not only the control of the general policy of the Government as First Lord of the Treasury, but the arduous functions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Some Liberal peers returned to the offices they had held in Mr. Gladstone's former Ministry; Lord Selborne again became Lord Chancellor, Lord Granville Foreign Secretary, Lord Kimberley Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Argyll Lord Privy Seal. Lord Spencer, formerly Viceroy in Ireland, became President of the Council. In the Lower House the Ministerial combination included some new elements, and involved some changes which could not have been forecasted. Mr. Bright, indeed, resumed his post as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; but Mr. Childers, formerly identified with the Admiralty, became Secretary for War; Lord Northbrook, formerly Viceroy of India, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Hartington, formerly Chief Secretary for Ireland, Secretary of State for India; Sir William Harcourt, formerly Solicitor-General, Home Secretary; Mr. Forster, formerly Vice-President of the Council, Chief Secretary for Ireland; and Mr. Dodson, formerly Chairman of Committees, President of the Local Government Board.

These changes gave abundant opportunity for the development of Ministerial ability in unsuspected directions, and portended some surprises for the public; but they did not provide for the representation of the Radical wing of the Liberal party, which had acquired numerical strength and confidence in its own power and merit at the general election.

The negotiations for the settlement of these claims were protracted, but they ended in an arrangement with which the Radicals have generally been satisfied. Mr. Chamberlain, the skilful worker of the Birmingham system of party organisation, entered the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade. Three other Liberals of advanced opinions accepted important offices outside the Cabinet, Mr. Fawcett becoming Postmaster-General, Sir Charles Dilke Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Mundella Vice-President of the Council. The other offices fell to men who had previously served their apprenticeship in politics. Some well-known names were missed. Mr. Lowe did not return to office, but was raised to the peerage as Viscount Sherbrooke; Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen at the same time became Lord Brabourne. Lord Carlingford and Lord Cardwell made way for men of the younger generation. Lord Cowper was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Ripon Viceroy of India; while a little later Mr. Goschen consented to undertake the special duties of Ambassador Extraordinary at Constantinople, replacing Sir Henry Layard, who retired nominally on leave of absence, but in fact finally.

The general impression created by the announcement of these Ministerial appointments was that the new Government would be strong both in debating power and in administrative capacity. It cannot be said that these expectations have been disappointed. The Ministry during the session, which extended from May to September, showed an abundance of Parliamentary ability; and some striking successes in administration—especially Mr. Fawcett's vigorous management of the Post Office—have to be placed to their credit. But as the session closed it was felt that the most had not been made, either in the field of legislation or elsewhere, of rare opportunities and the propelling force of a powerful popular movement. There have been an apparent want of knowledge of men and a touch of peremptoriness of manner which in some vital matters have not been compensated for by firmness and calmness. Mr. Gladstone's Supplementary Budget has been a success, and the Burials Act, the Employers' Liability Act, and the Ground Game Act, whatever differences of opinion may exist as to their substantial merits, are important legislative achievements. But the conduct of the controversies arising out of Mr. Bradlaugh's case and out

of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill did little credit either to Government or Parliament.

The withdrawal of Mr. Gladstone from the political scene, during his illness, undoubtedly lessened the energy of the Administration, and was chargeable with much of the waste of time and temper which kept the Houses sitting a whole month later than usual. Although there is no sign of the withdrawal of popular support from Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, it cannot be affirmed that it has not lost ground with the country, especially since the state of Ireland has begun to rouse much deep indignant feeling in England. Outwardly, however, as the year is ending, the Government retains its power, if not its credit, undiminished.

The personal changes among officials since the Ministry was formed eight months ago have been unimportant. Mr. Adam has accepted the Governorship of Madras, and has been succeeded as First Commissioner of Works by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, Mr. Trevelyan being appointed to the Secretaryship of the Admiralty thus vacated. The general election produced a large crop of election petitions, and in several cases the reports of the judges brought to light so scandalous a state of things that Royal Commissions were issued to inquire into electoral corruption in Chester, Macclesfield, Oxford, Boston, Canterbury, Gloucester, Knaresborough, and Sandwich. An immense mass of evidence was taken by the Commissioners, and has been published from time to time, and the effect on the public mind has been to produce mingled disgust and alarm, with a conviction that a large reform is necessary. It is manifest that in many constituencies there is a deep-seated taint which has not been extirpated by the admission of large numbers of voters under a liberal franchise.

At the opening of the year the condition of Ireland was causing much anxiety, and down to the last that anxiety, through many changes of form, has constantly increased. It was feared at first that the scarcity would become a real famine, and the Conservative Ministry were violently assailed for not taking adequate measures to avert loss of life. It proved, however, that even in the most grievously afflicted districts the provision made by public assistance or private alms for the relief of distress was ample, nor has the malignity of anti-English agitators been able to point to the spectacle of a starving community.

But, while the alarm of famine and the lavish expenditure upon relief combined to demoralise the Irish people, the followers of Mr. Parnell steadily laboured to raise a popular cry against the payment of rent. At the outset the distress was made the pretext of a refusal to fulfil contracts relating to land, but Mr. Parnell very soon advanced to a more commanding position ; he advised the peasantry to "hold the land," and to pay only so much rent as they deemed fair, and he allowed it to be plainly seen that his ultimate object was the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. Early in the year Mr. Parnell visited the United States with the object of raising a fund, partly for the relief of distress, and partly for the promotion of his political objects at home. His success was not conspicuous, but his influence as the rallying-point of disaffected feeling in Ireland was increased, and at the general election more than half of the Home Rule candidates had to pledge themselves to follow him blindly. Some of the most respectable of the Roman Catholic Liberals, such as the O'Conor Don and Mr. N. D. Murphy, lost their seats because they fell under the ban of the advanced faction. The victory of the Parnellites led to the displacement of Mr. Shaw by Mr. Parnell himself, who, having been chosen in three constituencies, elected to sit for the city of Cork, and was immediately nominated Sessional Chairman of the party.

When the new Ministry was formed the extreme Irish faction, who took their places on the Opposition side of the House of Commons, put forward a declaration that they would be content with no moderate measure of land reform, and the word of command was given to "distrust the Whigs." The Land League, which was founded to supply the working machinery for carrying Mr. Parnell's agrarian policy into effect, now began to be active and to "organise" the peasantry in the resistance to rent-paying. The alarms respecting famine died away as the summer wore on and as the encouraging harvest prospects were realised. But, unfortunately, the Government had been tempted to depart from the sure ground they had originally taken up, and had reopened the Irish land question prematurely and incautiously by the introduction of Mr. Forster's Disturbance Bill. Mr. Parnell was seconded in his inflammatory efforts by some of the new Home Rule members—notably Mr. Dillon—who strove to surpass their

master. The tenants were warned not to yield an inch to the landlords, but to "hold the harvest" as well as to "hold the land," defying all legal process for the recovery of rent unpaid. Then began the systematic outrages by which terror was to be struck into the souls of all who did not bow down before the League.

After Parliament was prorogued the language of Mr. Parnell and his lieutenants grew more fierce, and agrarian crime increased with frightful rapidity. The Land League proceeded to enact that tenants should nowhere pay more than Griffith's valuation, which was at least 25 per cent under the letting value of ordinary land when the basis of rating was fixed according to the low standard of agricultural prices ruling a generation ago. Attempts to resist this decision, either on the part of landlords demanding their due or of tenants willing to pay, were punished by atrocious outrages, including murder, maiming, destruction of cattle and crops, and torture inflicted on men and animals. The assassination of Mr. Boyd, a land agent's son, in the south-east of Ireland, was followed by that of Lord Mountmorres on the borders of Galway and Mayo, and that of the driver of a Mr. Hutchins's car, near Glengariff, in the county of Cork. For these acts the Land League orators sometimes expressed conventional regret, but more often they were content to weigh them against the "crimes" which, as they alleged, the landlords had committed by evicting tenants and raising rents.

By degrees it became apparent that the law had no terrors for the instruments of the Land League policy. When the Government came into office some parts of the Peace Preservation Act of 1870 still remained in force, including restrictions on the sale and use of arms and provisions for levying compensation in cases of death or personal injury, upon the districts concerned ; but Mr. Forster believed that he could appeal more strongly to the goodwill of Ireland by abandoning all extraordinary powers, and the Act was allowed to expire in June. In the autumn the incapacity of the law to cope with organised intimidation resting upon the terrors inspired by unpunished outrage could no longer be disguised. A number of Irish noblemen and gentlemen waited upon the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary in Dublin Castle to ask whether no steps were to be taken to give them protection, not only in executing processes

of law against defaulting debtors, but in the ordinary peaceful and secure enjoyment of life and property. The Chief Secretary promised, in the name of the Government, that if the law was not respected exceptional measures would be adopted to put down crime.

Soon afterwards a step was taken which was intended to reassure the timid and to prove that the law had terrors for its enemies. At the Land League meetings which were held throughout the country the people were incited to combine in refusing payment of rent over Griffith's valuation and to resist any consequent proceedings. The adoption of these counsels led directly to the social war since carried on with increasing success by the occupiers of land against the owners, and the law advisers of the Irish Government conceived that some of the leaders of the Land League had brought themselves within the grasp of the law by their speeches. An information for seditious conspiracy was applied for by the Crown against Mr. Parnell, some other Home Rule members of Parliament, and several of the officials of the Land League. The trial at Bar in the Court of Queen's Bench was appointed to begin on the 28th of December, and it is certain that the proceedings will be of enormous length. The policy of these State prosecutions has been much questioned, both on the ground that the law of conspiracy is a weapon which it is not desirable to furbish up against political offenders in these days and on the ground that, while a conviction is doubtful, an acquittal would be popularly regarded as crowning Mr. Parnell with victory. In any case, the menace of the prosecutions did not put a stop to lawlessness in Ireland ; intimidation and outrage extended and consolidated their power, and appeals were made to the Irish Executive to reinforce the existing law, which was plainly impotent either to check or to punish crime, by the assumption of more stringent powers.

When the Cabinet met on the 10th of November it was generally believed that Mr. Forster would make out an irresistible case for strong precautionary measures, and the language of Mr. Gladstone at the Guildhall on Lord Mayor's Day seemed to indicate that on proof of necessity even the Ministers who were least favourable to coercion would not refuse such measures. On the other hand Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, in their public speeches, laid marked stress upon the doctrine

that "force is no remedy." It was inferred that there were divisions in the Cabinet, but of the fact the public had no certain knowledge. It was apparent, however, that the issue of the Ministerial discussions was indecisive, for, although at a subsequent Council the meeting of Parliament was fixed for the 6th of January, a full month earlier than usual—thus admitting urgency—affairs were allowed to drift in the meantime.

How serious were the results of the inadequacy of the law to cope with organised crime was shown in the charges of the judges at the opening of the winter assizes. Mr. Justice Fitzgerald in Cork, and Mr. Baron Dowse in Galway, drew an alarming picture of the prevailing lawlessness in Munster and Connaught, while Justices Barry and Lawson bore testimony to the progress of the contagion in Leinster and even in Ulster. These judicial statements included no facts not already known to the Executive authorities, but they revealed to the English public the impression produced upon the minds of loyal men in Ireland by the spread of the terrorism. Not one case of outrage out of ten led to a prosecution, and the trials at the assizes proved that even of this small proportion very few could be expected to end in the punishment of the guilty. Mr. Justice Fitzgerald complained that both witnesses and jurors had been driven by menaces to forget or forego the obligations of their oaths. Prisoners were acquitted against whom conclusive evidence had been taken before the magistrates. The judges themselves were threatened if they persisted in doing their duty.

But even these disclosures had less effect in arousing public opinion in England than the extraordinary system of intimidation put in force against Captain Boycott, Lord Erne's agent, near Lough Mask, on the borders of Galway and Mayo. Captain Boycott had incurred the enmity of the Land League by attempting to enforce the payment of rent, and sentence of social excommunication was passed upon him in October. His servants and labourers were ordered to leave him, shopkeepers were forbidden to deal with him, his cattle and crops were doomed to perish of neglect. The victim could have obtained assistance from England or from Ulster but that it was well known the lives of the new-comers would have been in extreme danger. Police protection was utterly powerless, and intimidation would have carried its point without check had not the

spirit of the Ulster men been stirred up, and an expedition for the "relief" of Lough Maskhouse been organised among the tenant-farmers of Cavan and Monaghan. The Government became seriously alarmed at the prospect of a collision between the relief party and the peasantry. An "army" of nearly 1000 men, with cavalry, infantry, and artillery all complete, was despatched to the scene of action, and the "invaders," as the Land League styled them, were allowed to gather in part of Captain Boycott's crops.

But when the work was done Captain Boycott's position was little better than before. He had to leave the farm in which he had sunk all his capital, and which has been surrendered to the pranks of malignity and rapine. The impossibility of keeping intimidation at bay by the use of troops to protect individuals was strikingly demonstrated. "Boycotting" became general, and although resting upon criminal threats or outrages, it has been carried on up to the present without any effectual resistance on the part of the law. During the past few weeks an attempt to "boycott" Mr. Bence Jones, a landowner farming on a large scale in the county of Cork, has attracted attention. Similar cases have more recently become of daily occurrence. Steamship and railway companies have been forbidden to carry cattle or goods for persons under the ban, and in too many cases the objects of this terrorism have helplessly submitted.

European politics at the beginning of the year were disturbed rather by vague apprehensions of conflict than by any actual crisis. The settlement of the Eastern Question under the Treaty of Berlin still remained incomplete; Sir Henry Layard was engaged in a continual struggle with those in power at the Porte and the palace, with no eminent success. But it was in the West, not in the East, that clouds seemed to be gathering. A certain alienation between Germany and Russia was not concealed, and a violent polemical controversy was opened in semi-official journals on both sides. The attitude of France was one of reserve. It was currently believed that the introduction of a Bill increasing the numbers of the German army for the next ten years was intended to make an impression on the European imagination.

From whatever cause, and without any visible crisis, the tension abated. Men's minds were turned in other directions,

chiefly by the revival of European interest in Eastern affairs which followed the accession of the Liberal Government to office in England. Down to the general election the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry had been attacked and defended with unparalleled vehemence. Not a few Liberals were on the side of his defence, and much interest was excited by a brilliant speech in which Mr. Cowen, the Radical member for Newcastle, protested against the abuse heaped upon the Government by the Opposition. In the determination, however, of the issue before the country, it may be said that foreign questions played only a secondary part. The spirit and tone of Lord Beaconsfield's policy were not approved by the majority of the constituencies, but no sanction was given to a new departure. Lord Granville's appointment to the Foreign Office was generally accepted as a pledge that the Liberal Government would be cautious and moderate, and would not break away roughly from the fixed lines of national policy. Almost the first act of the Prime Minister after his appointment was to write a letter to Count Karolyi, the Ambassador of Austria-Hungary in this country, apologising for the language he had used with respect to Austrian policy, when enjoying the irresponsibility of opposition, during the Midlothian campaign.

Mr. Goschen's mission to Constantinople, preceded by a visit to the most important political centres in Europe, was the first step towards the formation of a European concert for the execution of the unperformed parts of the Treaty of Berlin, which Lord Granville's circular on assuming office had indicated as the immediate object to be aimed at by the friends of international peace. Two main questions were to be settled. The Porte had not given effect to any of the numerous compromises suggested for solving the Montenegrin frontier difficulty, on the pretence that opposition of the Albanians made it impossible to execute the transfer of territory acknowledged in principle to be a part of the settlement imposed by the treaty ; and had all along refused to accept as binding the recommendation of the Protocol adopted at Berlin, that a large part of Thessaly and Epirus should be ceded to Greece. Both questions were taken in hand by the Powers shortly after the change of Ministry in England. After some hesitation a Conference was assembled at Berlin to consider what develop-

ment should be given to the Protocol of the Congress of 1878 relating to the Greek claims. The Montenegrin dispute was more peremptorily dealt with. Separate attempts to bend the Sultan's will having failed, the only result being the dismissal of Said Pasha and the formation of a so-called reforming Ministry under Kadri Pasha, a Collective Note was presented, which was met, in Ottoman fashion, with dilatory pleas.

Ultimately the Powers decided upon insisting that the town and district of Dulcigno should be peacefully surrendered to Montenegro by a fixed date ; in the event of non-compliance a naval demonstration, representing all the Powers, was to take place. Turkey still held back, and a conjoint squadron under the English Admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, assembled at Ragusa. The immediate effect was not pacific. Kadri Pasha's Ministry fell, and Said returned to power. For a while it appeared that a conflict could not be avoided. The Sultan addressed a letter to the European ambassadors declaring that until the naval demonstration was withdrawn he could not entertain the question of surrendering Dulcigno. On the other hand, though the allied squadron had taken up a menacing position close to the scene of the cession demanded, the Admirals were not empowered to accede to the demand of Montenegro for active aid and a guarantee of indemnity. The Porte, perceiving the hesitations of the Powers, published a Note on the 4th of October, which was generally regarded as a defiance of Europe.

The issue between the policies of conflicting coercion and suasion could no longer be avoided by the European Cabinets. It has since become known that the policy of coercion could not have been insisted upon without entailing the rupture of the European concert. The British Government proposed that the fleet should be despatched to Smyrna, with a view to putting pressure upon the Sultan by the sequestration of the Customs revenues. Russia and Italy were willing to join in this project, but Austria and Germany were disinclined to accept any share of responsibility. The scale was turned by France, where a singular retrogressive movement of public opinion had taken place, and where even the influence of M. Gambetta in favour of an active policy in the East had been overpowered. The French Government refused to take any steps which might

conceivably lead to war, on the ground that by so doing they would separate themselves from the European concert.

The proposal with respect to Smyrna was, therefore, still-born. But the menace, though never adopted by the Powers, sufficed to bring the Porte to a sudden submission, and four days after the issue of the defiant Note it was announced that Dulcigno would be surrendered unconditionally, the Sultan, however, expressing a hope that in consequence the naval demonstration would be withdrawn. When it leaked out by and by that the Powers were not in accord and would not have proceeded to measures of coercion, the zeal for concession cooled at Constantinople, and for several weeks the allied fleet paraded the Adriatic, while the Turks were raising new difficulties about the details of the surrender and conjuring up the spectre of an Albanian rising. At last the matter was put into the hands of a resolute man, Dervish Pasha, who showed the Albanians that he could and would fight ; he occupied Dulcigno without serious resistance and handed it over without difficulty to the Montenegrins. The work of the fleet was now agreed to be over, and the naval demonstration came to an end by the dispersal of the ships.

During the earlier stages of these proceedings the Powers had pressed for a settlement of the Greek claims as well as of the Montenegrin dispute, but diplomacy had succeeded in separating them, and after the surrender of Dulcigno was promised the naval demonstration could not have been employed to extort the cession of Janina, Larissa, and Metzovo without a formal renewal of the European concert to that end. The attitude, however, of France, Germany, and Austria when the proposal with respect to Smyrna was discussed had been fatal to the hope that coercion would have been adopted by the Powers even in the incontestable case of Montenegro. The probability of applying it in the more debatable matter of the Greek frontier was small indeed. But the controversy had drifted into complications of which, as it seemed, only coercion could cut the knot. The claims of Greece, advocated at Berlin by M. Waddington and endorsed by the Conservative Ministry in England, as well as by their Liberal successors, had been vigorously revived about the time of Mr. Gladstone's accession to power. The King of the Hellenes visited the great European capitals and had interviews with the leading statesmen, which

encouraged his people to hope for a speedy settlement. Greece began to arm, with the avowed intention of extorting by force, if not otherwise, the cession of the districts designated by the Protocol of 1878. A Greek invasion of Thessaly and Epirus would have led, it was feared, to a rising in all the regions south of the Balkans, especially as the Bulgarians were suspected of preparing to effect a junction with East Roumelia and to constitute a powerful Slav State extending from the Danube to the *Ægean*.

The Conference at Berlin attempted to escape from the difficulty by directing Turkey to cede the disputed districts to Greece. But Turkey contested the validity of this mandate, and the matter had not drawn nearer to a settlement when the naval demonstration was dissolved after the surrender of Dulcigno. Greece was armed and seething with excitement; a Ministry suspected of timidity or prudence had been overthrown; the King was made to speak in the most emphatic and unflinching terms. Turkey was not less resolute in resistance. The Powers showed no disposition to enforce the award of the Conference, and France, the original champion of the Greek claims, conspicuously drew back. Germany and Austria, it was understood, would take part in no active measures. The English policy had always been founded upon the concert of Europe, and, with the utmost desire to secure fair treatment for Greece, there was no possibility of attempting to coerce the Porte without the co-operation of France, Germany, and Austria. Turkey seized the occasion of this doubtful pause to call upon the Powers to restrain the Greeks from breaking the peace. Proposals for submitting the dispute to arbitration have been lately discussed, and, if the parties concerned can be induced to pledge themselves to submit to the award, a satisfactory arrangement may prove attainable. The suggestion that Crete should be ceded instead of Janina, Larissa, and Metzovo is not likely to be entertained either at Constantinople or at Athens.

Foreign affairs absorbed the interest of politicians in Germany and Austria during the greater part of the year. The Bill for the increase of the German army, adopted in January by the Federal Council, met with sharp criticism; the Emperor and his Chancellor, however, were determined that it should be carried, and, on its introduction in the Reichstag, it was supported by a striking speech by Count von Moltke, who argued that the unity

of Germany could only be secured against dangers on this side and on that by keeping her military strength at least on a level with that of her possible enemies. The Bill was carried, and Prince Bismarck, after a threat of resignation, presently withdrawn, as usual, overcame resistance on minor points. Dissatisfied, however, with the uncertainty of his Parliamentary support—the Ultramontanes not being ready to give their votes except in return for absolute and irrevocable concessions, and the National Liberals being alienated in part by the Chancellor's Protectionist policy and in part by his dalliance with Rome—the Prussian Government proposed to modify the "May Laws" so as to place a discretionary power with respect to their enforcement in the hands of the Executive. This Bill was also carried, but the Ultramontanes have not yet been reconciled, and the advanced body of the Liberals remains more suspicious than ever.

Much painful feeling has been excited by the social persecution of the Jews, which is preached by some persons in favour at the Court, and by certain popular writers. A Parliamentary debate on the subject revealed an amount of intolerance which would not have been supposed to exist among a people so thoughtful and cultivated as the Germans.

It was more than once rumoured that the bonds of the alliance between Germany and Austria were being relaxed, but on every critical occasion it has been found that the two empires are ready to act together. The indirect influence of this close connection is seen in the resistance which the German Liberals of Austria have organised against the presumed separatist and pro-Slavonic tendencies of Count Taaffe's Ministry. The Autonomists, Ultramontanes, and Feudal Conservatives have hitherto been too strong for their opponents, but the emphatic declarations of the latter that Austria is a "German Land," and that they intend to keep it so, ought not to be lost sight of.

Italian policy is to Austrian policy as one pole of the magnet is to the other; the opposition is permanent, but the one cannot exist apart from the influence of the other. Signor Cairoli, whose Government was weakened in the spring by a quarrel with the Senate, felt strong enough soon after to denounce the *Italia Irredenta* agitation as "insane." The general election which took place in May gave no promise of political stability. About half the Chamber belonged to the Ministerial Left, while

the other half was divided between the Right and the discontented followers of Signor Nicotera in the proportion of two to one. Hitherto, however, the Ministry has held its ground.

In the smaller States there have been few noteworthy events. Spain is tranquil and has witnessed no political changes, though Cuba is again beginning to cause anxiety at Madrid ; nothing has been done to improve the position of the finances, and it is believed that the Government will not be propitiated by Mr. Gladstone's proposed reduction of the wine duties. In Belgium the Liberal Ministry is engaged in bitter strife with the Church, and the formal relations between this kingdom and the Vatican have been wholly broken off.

Russia is still perturbed by the mysterious movements of Nihilism. A desperate attempt to blow up the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg narrowly missed its object in February last, the Czar's life being saved by a combination of accidents. The horror inspired by this outrage led to the suspension of public liberty and the transfer of dictatorial power to General Melikoff, who was successful in his severe administration of justice, and appears to have held the revolutionists effectually in check. The death of the Empress, which had been long expected, has supplied an additional motive for the Czar's retirement from active life, by allowing him to enter into a morganatic marriage with the Princess Dolgorouka. In European affairs the *rôle* of Russia has been that of caution and reserve. In Asia a threatening quarrel with China, growing out of the Kuldja cession, has been with difficulty composed. The alliance of Austria and Germany has tended to bring Russia and France together, and this influence alleviated the bitterness felt when the French Government refused the extradition of Hartmann, one of the principals in the murderous Moscow plot, and the Russian ambassador temporarily left Paris.

France, however, has been advancing so rapidly along the line of Liberalism that even for the most important objects of international policy she was unable to make herself the instrument of Russian autocracy. M. de Freycinet had come into office at the close of last year ; his Ministry was regarded as a slight advance upon that of M. Waddington ; but he was soon compelled to move faster. The amnesty without conditions was pressed upon him by the Extreme Left, and he resisted so faintly

that ultimate concession was foreshadowed. Upon a more serious question M. de Freycinet yielded at once ; he consented to the insertion in M. Jules Ferry's Government Education Bill of a clause levelled at the "unauthorised" religious orders which had been tolerated under the Empire, and had set up teaching establishments. The Chamber of Deputies passed the Bill by a great majority, but the Senate, led by M. Jules Simon, threw out the clause in question.

The Ministry proceeded, however, to effect its purpose by decrees founded on laws that had fallen into disuse, and the proscription of the orders was proclaimed. But the Government was weakened by dissensions on other questions. A Public Meetings Bill, by which M. de Freycinet desired to retain some control over incendiary rhetoric, led to a conflict with the majority in the Chamber, and to the resignation of M. Lepère. The Government was modified by the introduction of a more pronounced Gambettist, and amnesty proposals going beyond those rejected in February were brought forward. Although difficulties arose with the Senate, the matter was compromised. Practically the Radicals gained their point, and among other Communists M. Rochefort returned to Paris, where he distinguished himself by assailing the advocates of mercy. The expulsion of the Jesuits under the decrees caused little sensation, but M. de Freycinet was known to be willing to deal moderately with the other orders, and had opened negotiations with the Vatican for a compromise. At the same time he was hostile to an active foreign policy. On these points he found himself in conflict with M. Gambetta, and the result was that three Cabinet Ministers resigned on the ground that the decrees were not being carried out.

After some delay M. Jules Ferry formed a Cabinet, chiefly consisting of M. de Freycinet's more advanced colleagues, but with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, M. Thiers's *fidus Achates*, at the Foreign Office. Although the decrees against the orders were carried out by M. Ferry with a harshness which shocked public opinion throughout Europe, the Ministry was not after M. Gambetta's heart. In foreign policy M. St. Hilaire was no more disposed to adventure than M. de Freycinet. The Cabinet had only been in office a few weeks when it was placed in a minority in the Chamber by a vote postponing the Education Bills to the Bills making magistrates removable. M. Ferry resigned, but

withdrew his resignation under pressure from M. Gambetta. Another crisis was provoked by a vote of censure carried in the Senate on the ground that the authorities, in removing religious emblems from the schools, had treated the crucifix with insult. It is felt, however, that in the existing state of parties no Ministerial combination will be strong enough to hold its own while M. Gambetta declines the responsibility and claims the reality of power. M. Ferry remains in office, but the President of the Chamber of Deputies governs. Yet M. Gambetta is assailed with increasing acrimony by the Radicals. The collapse of the Monarchical parties has left the field clear for a struggle between the Opportunists and the intransigent Republicans.

The relations between this country and France have been throughout close and cordial. M. Léon Say's appointment as ambassador at this Court was generally thought to promise an arrangement for the renewal of the Commercial Treaty which had been provisionally continued pending the French general tariff legislations. Mr. Gladstone was willing to make an effort to compass this object, and his Supplementary Budget included a provision for the reduction of the wine duties demanded by the French. M. Léon Say, however, soon abandoned the London Embassy, preferring the Presidency of the Senate, which had been vacated by M. Martel. He was succeeded as ambassador by M. Challemel-Lacour. The negotiations with respect to the treaty did not make rapid progress in France, and finally were postponed till the coming year. The revision of the English wine duties, in which not only France, but Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Germany are interested, has in consequence been put off, and will probably be dealt with in Mr. Gladstone's next budget.

Our position in Afghanistan has involved a continuous strain of anxiety. At the close of 1879 Sir Frederick Roberts had re-occupied Cabul and checked the menacing attacks of the Afghan tribes; but the position of affairs was still critical. Mahomed Jan, an ambitious Sirdar, having possessed himself of the boy, Musa Khan, the heir of the deposed Ameer, was at the head of a large body of insurgents, while Ayoob Khan was leading another army from Herat. A project for transferring Herat to Persia came to nothing through the fears of the Shah or the intrigues of Russia at Teheran. Shortly afterwards Abdurrahman Khan, Shere Ali's rival and long the guest of the Russians

at Tashkend, appeared in Balkh and was recognised by the Sirdars.

The policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Government in unravelling this tangled skein was not disclosed before the general election, and the Liberals came into power fettered only by the Treaty of Gandamak, unless the recognition by Lord Lytton of the Afghan Governor, Shere Ali, as independent "Wali" of Candahar, were an exception to this freedom. Lord Lytton resigned as soon as the issue of the elections was known, and was succeeded by the Marquis of Ripon. The interregnum, however, was necessarily prolonged while the late Viceroy quitted India and his successor set out from England. In the meantime Sir Donald Stewart, advancing from Candahar, had captured Ghazni. The credit of our arms was maintained, but the situation was, in the opinion of the Government, not permanently tenable, and negotiations were opened with Abdurrahman, who seemed to have the best chance of establishing himself in power at Cabul. Lord Hartington did not admit that an immediate withdrawal from Candahar was possible, and a settlement was postponed from week to week.

Meanwhile the Wali was threatened by Ayoob Khan and the Herat army, and a British force had to be sent to protect him. General Primrose, commanding at Candahar, sent forward General Burrows with a brigade to the Helmand. The Wali's troops deserted in numbers to the enemy, and it turned out that Ayoob's strength had been altogether underrated. Towards the end of July a terrible defeat was inflicted at Maiwand on General Burrows, the remnant of whose force with difficulty joined General Primrose's garrison.

An attack on Candahar seemed imminent, but Ayoob hesitated and lost his opportunity. A bold resolution was taken at Cabul. Sir Frederick Roberts, gathering a force of over 9000 men, marched to the relief of Candahar, allowing Abdurrahman, with whom all arrangements had been previously concluded, to occupy Cabul, and leaving to General Stewart the duty of leading back the rest of the British troops by the Khyber to the Punjab. Sir F. Roberts, cut off from direct communication with his countrymen, disappeared, as it were, from human ken for three weeks, during which the national anxiety was extreme. It was doubted whether Candahar could hold out until relieved, and yet relief from no other quarter could be hoped for in time.

At length Sir F. Roberts emerged victorious from the trackless region between Cabul and Candahar. Immediately he grappled with Ayoob Khan, and inflicted upon that pretender a crushing defeat. This brilliant achievement and the results which followed won for the successful General the admiring gratitude of his countrymen, and put an end to the carping criticism with which his severe measures for maintaining the peace at Cabul had been assailed by some politicians at home.

The defeat of Ayoob and the establishment of Abdurrahman at Cabul opened the way for a new departure in Anglo-Indian policy. But no decisive step has yet been taken by Lord Ripon for the abandonment of the position assumed by Lord Lytton. The new Viceroy's rule has not been without its anxieties. Foremost among the difficulties he inherited was the confusion of the finances, due to an astounding miscalculation of the cost of the Afghan war. When Sir John Strachey produced his budget in February he accepted without inquiry the sanguine estimates of the Military Department, and it was taken for granted in consequence that, after paying all the war charges, there would be a respectable surplus. But it was presently discovered that the estimates fell far short of the real outlay, even before the last series of operations in which Sir F. Roberts has won a distinguished name were begun. It is probable that the cost of the Afghan war must be finally computed at more than three times the estimate accepted in the spring.

The amount of the assistance to be given to the Indian finances has not yet been determined, nor has the form of the grant been indicated, but Mr. Gladstone has admitted that some such aid is due and must be given. A strict economy has been since enforced throughout the whole of the Indian administration, and the Commission which has investigated the state of the native army will probably report with a view to effecting a saving of public money. The vigilance of the Indian Government has been occupied by threatening movements in many parts of Asia. Peace has been preserved with Burmah in spite of constant provocations. The imminent war between Russia and China was averted, it was believed, by the influence which Colonel Gordon had exerted at Pekin. Russia has refrained for this or some other reason from pressing hard upon the Tekke Turcomans, against whom, however, elaborate preparations are being made by General Skobeleff. The outbreak of the Kurds,

which at one time seriously menaced Persia, has gradually collapsed.

South Africa at the beginning of the year enjoyed the tranquillity that had been dearly purchased by the wars in Kaffraria and Zululand. The Boers of the Transvaal continued to protest against the annexation, though they had been warned that the act was irrevocable. Natal was at peace and recovering prosperity. In the Cape Colony Sir Bartle Frere was retained in power by Mr. Gladstone's Government, although Lord Kimberley had joined in Sir M. Hicks-Beach's censure of his rash policy towards Cetywayo, on the ground that he was the fittest person to carry through the project of confederation to which Mr. Sprigg's Ministry was supposed to be pledged. The Cape Parliament, however, would have nothing to do with confederation, Mr. Sprigg acquiesced in that decision without much concern, and the Home Government, already hard pressed in this direction by the majority of its followers, recalled Sir Bartle Frere. The Ministry and Parliament at the Cape showed the same headstrong disregard for public opinion in the mother country by insisting upon the disarmament of the Basuto nation, in the teeth of the warnings of Sir Garnet Wolseley and of the arguments of the Colonial Office. The result has been a serious rebellion, which the colony has undertaken to put down by its own strength, but which has hitherto baffled the efforts of a volunteer army of over 12,000 men, ably led by skilful British officers.

The Boers, encouraged by the ill-success of the British arms, and by the impatience of South African disturbances, which was visibly affecting the public mind at home, have lately risen in insurrection at Heidelberg, proclaiming the Transvaal a Republic, with Mr. Krüger as President. The defeat of the British force by the insurgents, with considerable loss of life, gives a serious character to this unfortunate renewal of troubles. It is not known how far the movement has spread, or what forces it commands, but in the presence of the permanent native danger it must be looked upon as formidable.

Colonial history has otherwise been uneventful. In Victoria there have been two successive changes of Ministry. The failure of Mr. Berry's Reform Bill had discredited the Democratic party, and an appeal to the constituencies early in the year placed Mr. Berry in a minority. The majority, however, was

split up into sections, agreeing only in hostility to Mr. Berry. It was found impossible to unite them all in support of the Constitutional Cabinet formed by Mr. Service. The Roman Catholic members deserted Mr. Service when his Reform Bill was produced, and Mr. Berry returned to power in the summer a wiser man and the leader of a weaker party. He has not since ventured to advocate the *plébiscite* or any other revolutionary innovation, and he has avoided occasions of quarrel with the Upper House. Politics in Victoria attracted far less attention than the capture and trial of the Kelly gang of bushrangers, which had long successfully defied the law. Towards the close of the year the Melbourne Exhibition was opened with a success of which the colonists are justly proud.

The United States have passed through the inevitable agitations of a Presidential year, but with the least amount of general disturbance conceivable. The winter and spring were spent by both the Republicans and the Democrats in intrigue and organisation. General Grant was the favourite candidate with the majority of the Republican wire-pullers, while Mr. Blaine came very close after him. But at the Chicago Convention it was found that neither General Grant nor Mr. Blaine could command a majority of the votes of the delegates assembled, and after between thirty and forty ballots the choice fell upon General Garfield, Senator from Ohio, who had scarcely been previously mentioned. Mr. Garfield proved a good candidate, prudent and reticent, but withal straightforward. The Democratic Convention at Cincinnati selected General Hancock, an able Union soldier, as the party champion.

No new or disturbing issues were raised during the contest. Practically the electors had to determine whether the shortcomings of the Republicans were serious enough to demand their dismissal, and whether the Democrats could be trusted to do any better. On the former point the Republicans were protected by the popular satisfaction with the management of the finances and the revival of trade. The Democrats, through their coquetry with inflationists and repudiationists, had to blame themselves for letting the confidence of the country slip away from them. At the elections in November the Republican ticket triumphed, carrying a great majority of the State votes. The issue was decided mainly by the loss of New York State to the Democrats, in consequence of internal feuds and scandals. The continuance

of the Republican Government in the control of the executive power is likely to benefit the public credit. There is no longer any serious danger that the currency will be tampered with, and Secretary Sherman's scheme for refunding at 3 per cent is certain to be carried out. The Congress which will begin its term in March next will be in the hands of the Republican party.

A question which had obstructed the development of good feeling between this country and the United States has been placed in train for settlement since Lord Granville's accession to office. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Evarts had been unable to come to an agreement with respect to the Fortune Bay Fishery dispute. The former repudiated Mr. Evarts' contention that the American right to fish under the Treaty of Washington "in common with British subjects" was absolutely unlimited by any rules or laws binding on the British. But he also refused to grant compensation for the outrages undoubtedly perpetrated by the Newfoundlanders. Lord Granville, while declining as firmly as Lord Salisbury to admit Mr. Evarts' interpretation of the treaty, has offered compensation for the admitted illegal acts, and proposed to take counsel with the representatives of the American fishing interest with respect to the revision of the existing rules if it can be shown that they press unfairly. From President Hayes' Message to Congress it appears that these offers are satisfactory to the United States. Domestic and foreign politics, perhaps, attracted less attention among Americans during the year than the sensational fast of Dr. Tanner and the visit of Mdlle. Sarah Bernhardt.

The influence of the United States Government has failed to settle the basis of peace between Chili and Peru, and the war on the west coast of South America still drags its slow length along. A threatened disruption of the Argentine Republic seems to have been averted by a compromise, which once more secures to Buenos Ayres the position of the national capital. But neither wars nor revolutions are likely to exercise so great an influence over the future of the New World as the Panama Canal scheme, for which M. de Lesseps has at length conquered the attention and to some extent the confidence of speculative capitalists both in Europe and in the United States.

The social character of the year at home took its bent from the political crisis. Interest in foreign affairs generally waned. The general election and the prolongation of the session gave

the spur to party feeling. A more generous sentiment was stirred by Mr. Gladstone's illness in the autumn. The published accounts of his health were scanned with feverish eagerness by people of every class and party, and his cruise around the British Islands during his convalescence was watched with the kindest feelings.

We have not to chronicle so many terrible disasters to human life as in former years, though the Risca and Pen-y-Graig colliery explosions and some bad railway accidents on our most important lines remind us that we live in the midst of perils. On the Continent repeated shocks of earthquake have devastated Agram and the surrounding districts of Croatia. There were an unusual number of volcanic and electrical disturbances in different parts of Europe. But nothing occurred in that quarter of the globe to surpass in horror the fearful landslip at Nynee Tal in the Himalayas.

Germany has been moved with pride at the completion of the Cathedral of Cologne, which was celebrated with great pomp and rejoicing in the presence of the Emperor, but with marked indifference on the part of the Roman Catholic Church. In Austria the centenary of Joseph II. has been suspected of a political *arrière pensée* in the interests of "Germanism." France has celebrated the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastile as a testimony to the crowning of the Republican edifice.

Few remarkable trials will be remembered in connection with this year, though the prosecutions under the Public Worship Act which have led to the imprisonment of Mr. Pelham Dale and Mr. Enraght have caused intense excitement among a section of Churchmen.

The proposal to erect a monument to Prince Louis Bonaparte in Westminster Abbey aroused so violent an opposition that, after a heated Parliamentary debate, Dean Stanley withdrew his permission and the project was abandoned. Bitter feeling of a different kind was generated by a quarrel between the governors and the medical staff of Guy's Hospital, the latter contending that their authority over the nurses was challenged and impaired. The governors have hitherto had their own way, but the hospital has at once lost credit as a medical school and efficiency as an institution for relieving the sick poor.

The loss of the *Atalanta*, a sister ship of the unfortunate *Eurydice*, has been the subject of an official inquiry. Another

investigation of the same kind showed that the bursting of the *Thunderer's* gun was due to double loading ; but the whole question of our heavy ordnance has been thrown into doubt by recent controversies, and the appointment of an impartial Commission to examine into the matter has been promised by the War Office and the Admiralty.

The obituary of the year does not include many names of the first rank. We have already mentioned the death of the Empress of Russia. Among English statesmen one or two well-known personages passed away. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe had, since the early years of the century, been powerful and conspicuous as a diplomatist, and had been identified with the long ascendancy of this country in the counsels of Turkey. He had not survived his fame, but at a patriarchal age he saw the events in which he had taken a leading part becoming matters of history, while new conditions and combinations were arising with which his masterful force of character would not have been fitted to deal.

Lord Hampton, better remembered as Sir John Pakington, who died at the age of eighty, was thrice a Cabinet Minister. He was one of those country gentlemen without official experience who, after the rupture between the Protectionists and Peelites, threw themselves, as Lord Beaconsfield narrates in *Endymion*, gallantly into the gap and accepted the most responsible posts under Lord Derby in 1852 before they had even taken their seats as Privy Councillors. Sir John Pakington's official career was respectable ; he administered successively the Colonial Office, the Admiralty, and the War Department without discredit, in spite of the difficulties of government without the support of a Parliamentary majority. When the Conservatives at length came back triumphantly to power in 1874, Sir John Pakington had earned his discharge from duty. He was raised to the peerage, and in the following year was appointed First Civil Service Commissioner.

Another former Conservative official, Sir Stephen Cave, whose report on the finances of Egypt in 1876 opened a new chapter of Egyptian history, has also passed away.

By far the most illustrious name in the national necrology is that of the great writer who chose to be known to the world as George Eliot. Of the character of her mind and of the quality of her literary powers we have spoken too lately to

dwell at length upon them here. It is enough to say that in the whole range of English literature there are not more than three or four names which deserve to be placed above hers. In the annals of the world probably no woman equalled her, certainly none surpassed her, in that greatness which defies definition and which we call genius.

The past year has been peculiarly fatal to eminent lawyers. Sir Alexander Cockburn was one of the most brilliant among all the eminent men who have "sat in the seat of Holt and Mansfield." As Lord Chief Justice of England during one-and-twenty years he occupied a large space in the public eye. His eloquence as a speaker and as a writer, his literary accomplishments, and his knowledge of the world made him something more than a distinguished judge, and his peculiar place upon the English bench will not be easily filled. His name will be associated with many remarkable events, political and forensic; with the defence of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy in 1850, with the Hopwood case, with the prosecution of Palmer, with the questions arising out of the application of martial law in Jamaica, with the *Alabama* arbitration at Geneva, and with the Tichborne trial.

Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, has also passed away at the age of eighty-two; and Lord Justice Thesiger has been cut off in the prime of life.

The judicial rearrangements following these vacancies have led to the elevation of Lord Coleridge to the Chief Justiceship of England, and the abolition, if Parliament consents, of the Chief Judgeships in the Common Pleas and Exchequer Divisions of the High Court.

The legal profession has also lost Sir William Erle, formerly Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, who had, however, retired from the Bench many years ago; Sir James Colvile, one of the ablest and most useful members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; Mr. Locke, Q.C., better known in the House of Commons than in the Courts; Serjeant Parry, one of the ablest of advocates in criminal cases; and Dr. Kenealy, whose wilful and wasted career closed in misfortune and obscurity.

The Nestor of the British army, Field-Marshal Sir Charles Yorke, Constable of the Tower; Mr. Tom Taylor, a dramatist and a critic, whose reputation was founded on solid work; Mr. E. M. Barry, R.A., an architect not unworthy of his father's

name ; Mr. E. W. Cooke, R.A., one of the ornaments of the British school of painting ; Mr. Frank Buckland, the naturalist, whose unpretentious labours as Commissioner of Fisheries will bear fruit after him ; and Mr. G. F. Grace, the "Leviathan" of the cricket field, are numbered among our national losses in various fields of fame.

In France death has been busy among public personages of very different types. M. Jules Favre, one of the greatest of French orators and one of the most luckless of politicians, is gone ; so is the Duc de Gramont, who, unfortunately for his own repute and for the interests of his country, was Minister for Foreign Affairs during the disastrous quarrel with Germany in 1870 ; and Granier de Cassagnac, the apologist and historian of the *coup d'état*, and the father of the bellicose editor of the *Pays* ; and Madame Thiers, the wife of the most illustrious of modern French statesmen ; and Gustave Flaubert, the author of *Madame Bovary* and *Salammbô* ; and Jacques Offenbach, the most popular of composers of *bouffe* music.

Italy has suffered a more serious loss than any of these in the death of Baron Ricasoli, one of the founders of Italian unity and constitutionalism.

## 1881

THE year 1881, though not distinguished by wars or revolutionary changes of the first magnitude, presents a record of memorable and important events in almost every country in the world. At home the Irish difficulty has grown to the most formidable proportions ; British agriculture, already sorely smitten, has had to bear the keen disappointment of another unfavourable harvest. France has been drawn into the perilous labyrinth of the Tunisian expedition, while in her domestic politics the Republic has lost much of the character for moderation which made her, in M. Thiers' phrase, the Government that "divides the least." In Germany, as in France, and also in Holland, in Belgium, in Spain, in Hungary, and in Bulgaria, public opinion has been agitated by general elections ; political feuds have been embittered, and the dominance of Prince Bismarck threatened.

Though the different countries of Europe have had their internal troubles, the international relations of the great Powers have been more tranquil and easy than at any time since the battle of Sadowa. Diplomacy, indeed, has been at work upon its Penelope's web, a task which often turns out to be revolutionary rather than conservative. But hitherto there has been no serious movement of national jealousies ; the *status quo* has been preserved in Europe, and there is no greater reason at present to expect a disturbance of the peace than there has been at any period during the lifetime of this generation. The activity of Russia has been paralysed by the shock of the Czar's murder, which, in truth, has warned all civilised nations of the violent and destructive impulses that slumber under the superficial inanities of Socialism.

The New World, happily free from these anxieties, has been saddened by the assassination of President Garfield, a crime, however, which had no political bearing. The Republics of South America are still in their chronic state of conflict and unsettlement. Turning to the East, we can rejoice, at any rate, that the peace has been preserved. Even in South Africa a painful and discreditable chapter of history has been closed, and we must hope that the sacrifices which this country has made will purchase deliverance from further embarrassments and responsibilities.

Upon the whole, the year that is closing leaves us with few pressing reasons for alarm, and with some ground for hoping that not only this country, but the civilised world, has entered once more upon an era of prosperity and repose. The President of the Board of Trade, in his speech at the Carpenters' Hall a few weeks ago, was able to appeal to the official returns of his department as showing that "the enormous volume of our trade continues to roll on in ever-increasing and swelling flood." The revival of commercial prosperity has quickened speculation, and at no time within the past five-and-thirty years have projectors and promoters been so busy. Their efforts have been seconded by the high prices which Consols and all other forms of sound investment have reached and kept.

The disastrous weather of the preceding year had depressed not only the agricultural interest, but the entire trade of the kingdom, and postponed the commercial and industrial revival confidently and eagerly looked for towards the end of 1880. The vicissitudes of our changeable climate have been rarely more trying. Severe frost, dense fogs, and heavy snowfalls—that of the 18th of January being without parallel in recent years—were followed by repeated and violent storms. Afterwards came a period of settled, though bleak, weather, with a prevailing dry east wind, not unfavourable to spring farming operations. It became at length possible to clean the fields, and the comparatively backward crops were quickened in July by a fierce and almost tropical sun, which encouraged the hope of an early and abundant yield. But an unprecedented downpour of rain in August covered this fair prospect with the deepest gloom. The harvest was almost ruined in many parts of the country, and though the long-continued wet weather was not unfavourable to the growth of grass and green crops, the loss of the

anticipated yield of corn was not adequately counterbalanced by other advantages. The remainder of the year was chiefly remarkable for a succession of gales and storms of wellnigh unexampled severity, which not only did much damage to shipping, but once more covered the low-lying lands in this country with floods.

The adverse climatic influences of the year bore hard upon the agricultural interest, already severely tried by the bad seasons of 1879 and 1880. Many farmers had to leave their holdings broken men, and those who remained to struggle on, hoping for better times, were generally unable to meet their obligations in full. Large remissions of rent were freely granted by the majority of landlords, though the unexpected falling away of income pressed cruelly on families of middle rank. In the prevailing discontent it was natural that the sufferers should turn eagerly towards promises of relief, however vague and shadowy. The revival of Protectionism under a thin disguise had been carried far even before the disappointment about the harvest. It was stimulated by the delay in the recovery of business and by the avowed rejection of free trade on the Continent and in America. The negotiations for the renewal of the French Commercial Treaty dragged their slow length along without result, and many British manufacturing interests were agitated by the fear of being "sacrificed."

In this excitement the cry of "fair trade" was loudly raised. No exact and generally accepted definition of "fair trade" was put forth, but the notion that without the odium of naked protection it would be possible to keep out foreign competition, at least until foreign nations admitted our goods on reasonable terms, seemed likely to find favour among some of the industrial as well as the agricultural classes. A few seats were lost by the Liberals during the session, the contests for which were thought to be influenced by the "fair trade" cry. The Coventry and Preston elections, especially, gave hope to the "fair traders," and a National Fair Trade League was founded, in which Mr. Ecroyd, the Conservative member for Preston, took a leading part. No prominent politicians, however, identified themselves with the movement, and the difficulty of framing a plan which would at once satisfy farmers and manufacturers soon became apparent. Fair trade was laughed out of Parliament, and would, perhaps, have fallen at once into oblivion if the harvest

had not been disappointing. In the autumn the catch-word was used effectively at some bye-elections, particularly in North Durham and North Lincolnshire. Mr. Lowther, indeed, who won the latter seat, did not quibble with "fair trade" at all, but declared boldly in favour of protecting British agriculture.

For a while it appeared as if the Conservative leaders were placed in doubt by the evidence of popular feeling; Lord Salisbury pronounced for a "war of tariffs," should it appear necessary, and even Sir Stafford Northcote used ambiguous language on more than one occasion. But the effervescence subsided; cautious Conservatives hastened to declare that they had no desire to tamper with the free trade system, and wished only, as every one must wish, to have its benefits extended all the world over. Little has of late been heard of the "fair trade" movement, and at no recent election have candidates been tempted to rest their claims upon their readiness to support disguised protection. It is to be regretted that the proof thus given of the loyalty of the English people to free trade has, as yet, had no visible effect on the opinion of foreign countries. The treaty negotiations with France are to be again renewed, with the hope of getting a fair compromise accepted; but, in spite of M. Gambetta's free trade views, French Protectionism is still powerful and obstinate. In the United States the drift of political events is plainly away from, and not towards, the removal of duties on imports.

The domestic politics of the year have been moulded and coloured throughout by the predominant influence of the Irish question. At the beginning of the year the opening of Parliament a month before the usual time had been arranged, and the critical situation of affairs was no longer denied, even by extreme Radicals. The character of the "reign of terror" established in Ireland by the Land League was powerfully exhibited in the speeches made by Mr. Forster in the House of Commons when moving for the introduction of the Coercion Bills, while the extracts from the speeches and writings of the leading Land Leaguers, read at the trial of Mr. Parnell and his associates in Dublin for conspiracy to prevent the payment of rents, showed clearly by what audaciously perverse teaching the Irish peasantry had been demoralised. This trial terminated, as had been generally anticipated, in a disagreement of the jury. The proceedings of the Land League were for a time obscured

by the vicissitudes of the Parliamentary struggle, in the first place over the Coercion Bills, and afterwards over the Land Bill.

It is unnecessary here to enter at length into these and other questions included in the Parliamentary history of the session of 1881. We may, however, remark that the scope and even the direction of Mr. Gladstone's promised Land Bill remained in doubt almost down to the time of its introduction. The Report of Lord Bessborough's Commission had, indeed, established some points upon which there was an approach to general agreement among Liberals, and no determined spirit of opposition among Tories. It was recognised that cases of rack-renting in Ireland were few, and stress was mainly specially laid on the contention that what was needed was "security." The prevention of future increases of rent rather than an attack upon existing exorbitant rents was set forth as the principal object. The Commissioners reported that where rents had remained undisturbed for twenty years they might be accepted as "fair" in the absence of any peculiar circumstances.

The discussions upon the Land Bill turned in the first instance upon the same points. It was argued that the "fair rent" clause as originally framed would compel the Land Court to reduce rents generally throughout Ireland, by cutting the tenant's interest out of the value of the fee-simple; but this interpretation was repudiated by the Government, and the settlement was left to the discretion of the Court. The Court was acknowledged to be the turning-point of the legislative scheme, but until after the Land Act became law public attention was not directed to the important part played by the Sub-Commissioners. The jurisdiction at first intended to be given to the County Court Judges was transferred to these officials, whose appointments were not communicated to Parliament. It is not, therefore, surprising that the Parliamentary debates on the Land Bill and the controversies outside during the same phase of the question appear irrelevant when compared with the present aspects of the Irish agrarian difficulty.

So far, however, as the reception of the Bill in Ireland was concerned, its drift and details were of little consequence. The party of agitation were determined not to acquiesce in any settlement, and they laboured hard to convince the people that more was to be gained by adhering to the Land League than by

accepting the utmost that Parliament could give. The introduction of the Coercion Bills had for a time checked outrage, but the Land League organisation was perfected, the tenants generally refused to pay rent, and the landlords, despairing of obtaining either money or land by process of law, were for the most part content to wait till the promise of a plenteous harvest was realised. This was the case in Ireland—though not in Great Britain—and, in fact, the legitimate profits of Irish farming during 1880 and 1881, while the people “held the harvest” and refused in large numbers to pay rent, exceeded those of the most prosperous times within the memory of living men.

But the violence of the agrarian agitators did not abate; they seized upon the Coercion Act, at first put in force with the utmost leniency and consideration by Mr. Forster, as a pretext for new incitements to resistance, and for redoubled insults addressed to the Government and the English people. Under this malign influence the improvement which was the immediate effect of the introduction of the Coercion Bill gave place to a serious recrudescence of agrarian crime precisely at the moment when the Ministry and the Liberal party were straining every nerve to do what they believed to be full and final justice to the claims of the Irish tenantry. The Executive had refrained as long as possible from using its powers against any of the Parliamentary representatives of the Irish people, but at last Mr. Dillon’s outrageous language at Clonmel made his arrest absolutely necessary. He called upon the tenantry forcibly to resist the execution of legal process for the assertion of the landlords’ rights, and to punish by social excommunication any persons either setting the law in motion or acquiescing in the landlords’ claims. Other important arrests followed—though Mr. Dillon was subsequently released on the ground of failing health—and a certain measure of caution was thenceforward to be observed, at least down to the close of the session, in the public utterances of the Land League chiefs.

When, however, the Land Bill had become law, the League and those whose power and position were dependent on the League had to deal with the opinion of the Irish Americans. It became evident that without the pecuniary aid of the Irish in the United States the organisation of the League must soon collapse. No doubt could be entertained that the Irish Americans would be seriously displeased if, as the result of all their

contributions and agitations, they saw the tenantry in Ireland generally accepting the Land Act as a settlement, or even acquiescing in it as an instalment of their due. The bulk of the moderate Home Rulers, and even many identified with the extreme section, had declared in favour of the Act, and Mr. Parnell himself hesitated for a time. He was plainly afraid to pronounce against the Act decisively, lest he should find that the majority of the tenants had made up their minds not to go along with him ; and he was deterred from approving it, even with qualifications, as well by his personal antipathy to a rival policy, practically in possession of the field, as by his enforced dependence upon Irish-American support.

Throughout the year the most prominent Land Leaguers had shown a determination to provide a second string for their bow ; they had laid increasing stress on the political aspect of the agitation, on its value as a step towards the separation of Ireland from England, and on its success in completing the ruin of the "English garrison." But the ferocious temper displayed by the Irish in the United States exacted a more practical and immediate tribute than the revival of the Nationalist war-cries. The abominable "policy of dynamite" was proclaimed in America by O'Donovan Rossa and some newspapers recognised as the organs of the Land League beyond the Atlantic. The boast that the explosion which destroyed Her Majesty's ship *Doterel* was the work of Irish-American disciples of O'Donovan Rossa and his confederates had probably no foundation in fact, but attempts were made to injure the Liverpool Town Hall, the Salford Barracks, and the Mansion House in London, which could only be explained as imperfect and experimental applications of the "dynamite gospel." The discovery of "infernal machines," like those used in the Bremerhaven atrocity, on board some of the ocean-going steamers was still more startling, and in several places in England and Scotland concealed stores of arms and other evidences of an extensive Fenian conspiracy were brought to light.

As directed against the Imperial Government these movements of Irish disaffection were not really formidable, but they showed what the forces were which impelled Mr. Parnell to keep up the Land League agitation after the Land Act had become law. The close of the session was followed by renewed and aggravated reports of agrarian outrage in Ireland, and

though the Ulster tenantry seemed ready to accept the Act, the appeals of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy and other well-known "popular politicians" not of the Land League type were openly treated with contempt in other parts of the country. A vacancy created in the county of Tyrone by Mr. Litton's appointment as a member of the Land Commission gave Mr. Parnell an opportunity of declaring war upon the Land Act and of announcing the intention of the Land League to invade and conquer Ulster. The attempt was not successful. Mr. Parnell's candidate had at no time any chance of election, but he did not even succeed in detaching so many votes from the Liberal party as to give the Conservatives a majority. The tenant farmers, it was plain, voted, irrespective of creed or party, on the side of the Land Act.

During this campaign Mr. Parnell distinctly formulated his new doctrine, designed to reduce the Land Act to an absurdity, that justice required the reduction of the total rental of Ireland from some £17,000,000 sterling annually to between two and three millions, or to the "prairie value" of the land—that is, the amount it might be supposed to have been worth in its original unclaimed state. This impossible standard of "fair rent" was set before the people in order that any reductions of rent, however large, by the Land Courts might be received with disappointment. It was from this point of view that the policy of the Land League was declared at a "National Convention" held in Dublin in September; the tenantry were warned not to rush into the Courts, but to await the decisions on "test cases" which Mr. Healy and others were engaged in working up. Mr. Parnell took care to explain, for the benefit of his American allies, that in the opinion of the League the decisions of the Courts would be unsatisfactory, while he sedulously impressed upon his Irish followers the necessity of adhering to the principle of "prairie value," and confidently promised that the League would secure for them the practical recognition of that principle and the speedy destruction of "landlordism." At the same time he menaced the farmers with a "labourers' movement." Some slight efforts were made to withstand the spread of this "gospel of public plunder," as Mr. Gladstone emphatically named it at Leeds; the Roman Catholic bishops, in particular, joined, with one or two exceptions, in the Maynooth declaration in favour of the Land Act, but without avail. Public opinion

in Ireland was either cowed or intoxicated by the daring proposals of the League, and as the time arrived when the Land Act was to come into operation it became more and more doubtful whether its working would not be paralysed, if events were allowed to take their course, by an organised and determined opposition.

The Prime Minister, during his visit to Leeds in the first week of October, had used language which could bear only one meaning. The question, he said, had come to be simply this, "whether law or lawlessness must rule in Ireland"; the Irish people must not be deprived of the means of taking advantage of the Land Act by force or fear of force. He warned the party of disorder that "the resources of civilisation were not yet exhausted."

A few days later Mr. Gladstone, speaking at the Guildhall, amid enthusiastic cheers, was able to announce that the long-delayed blow had fallen. Mr. Parnell was arrested in Dublin under the Coercion Act, and his arrest was followed by those of Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dillon, Mr. O'Kelly, and other prominent leaders of the agitation. The warnings of the Government had been met at first with derision and defiance, and the earlier arrests were furiously denounced; but the energy and persistence of the Government soon began to make an impression, and the remaining organisers of the agitation bethought them of securing their personal safety. A Parthian shot was fired in the issue of a manifesto, purporting to be signed, not only by the "suspects" in Kilmainham, but also by Davitt, a convict in Portland Prison, which adjured the tenantry to pay no rent whatever until the Government had done penance for its tyranny and released the victims of British despotism. This open incitement to defiance of legal authority and repudiation of legal right was instantly met by the Irish Executive in a resolute spirit. On the 20th of October a proclamation was issued declaring the League to be "an illegal and criminal association, intent on destroying the obligation of contracts and subverting law," and announcing that its operations would thenceforward be forcibly suppressed, and those taking part in them held responsible.

There was for some time good reason to hope that these vigorous measures would be sufficient to restore the supremacy of the law and to induce the tenantry to take up their position

loyally under the shelter of the Land Act. Outbreaks of rioting in Dublin, Limerick, and a few other places were promptly and easily put down, and many signs were visible of a reaction against the reckless counsels of the "no rent" manifesto. Mr. Gray's proposal to confer the freedom of the city of Dublin on Mr. Parnell was rejected. Archbishop Croke, who had long been identified with the extremest views of the League, published a letter condemning the refusal of rents.

The Land Commission was opened by Mr. Justice O'Hagan and his colleagues on the very day on which the proclamation suppressing the League appeared, and, after a short delay, applications for fixing a fair rent were received in great numbers. Four Sub-Commissions were sent round to hear these applications in the first instance, the Chief Commissioners reserving to themselves the settlement of points of law and procedure and the determination of questions relating to leases. But, though some 50,000 tenants applied to the Court before the close of the sittings, the great majority still held aloof, and the payment of rent was very generally refused. As the year wore on and the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners were published, this attitude of the tenants assumed a most serious aspect. It showed an apparent determination to stand by the Kilmainham manifesto, to make "prairie value" the standard of rent, to starve out the landlords, to confront the law with passive resistance, supported by secret outrage, and, in short, to rely rather upon the lawless promises of the Land League than the substantial advantages of the Land Act.

In Ulster this was not so; the Land Act was all but universally accepted, and the lesson of the Tyrone election was repeated with greater emphasis in the county of Derry, where the seat vacated by Mr. Law, on his nomination as Lord O'Hagan's successor in the Chancellorship, was filled by the Solicitor-General, Mr. Porter. But in the three Southern provinces the "no rent" policy was adopted by great numbers of the tenants, and even those who went into Court were prepared, as Mr. Parnell's mouthpieces boasted, to fall back upon it, if not satisfied with the reduced rents fixed by the Sub-Commissioners. The reductions, indeed, seemed large and sweeping enough to satisfy any reasonable claims, and Mr. Porter's friends in Derry thought them so attractive that they placarded them as proof of the benefits conferred on the tenants

by the Act. Not only in Ulster, but in Munster and Connaught, rents were generally reduced from 20 to 30 per cent, and in many cases much more. Tenancies on old estates, where rents had been paid twenty, thirty, or even fifty years, were as freely handled as new tenancies on properties purchased in the Landed Estates Court.

The landlords were struck with dismay, and vehement protests were made on their behalf. It was maintained that when the Land Bill was debated in Parliament Ministers had asserted that no general reduction of existing rents was possible, and that great numbers of tenants would be glad to make amicable arrangements with their landlords, knowing that if they went into Court their rents would be raised. These forecasts, it was urged, had not been realised, nor had the landlords received any incidental advantages under the new law; rents were even less readily paid or recovered than before, and while old remedies were taken away no new ones were practically accessible. It was argued, further, that no one had imagined the practical settlement of fair rents would be entrusted to persons of the standing of the Sub-Commissioners, whose numbers had been multiplied as the business increased. The answer made on behalf of the Government was that with respect to the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners no final judgment could be formed, inasmuch as they could be carried on appeal before the Central Commission, while so far as the enforcement of the law was concerned, every effort would be made not only to stamp out "boycotting" by prosecutions and arrests under the Coercion Acts, but by employing military force to aid in carrying out evictions.

The initiative, however, in proceeding for recovery of rent was left of necessity to the landlords, and the organs of the Land League, which still continued to preach the "gospel of plunder," encouraged the tenants to hope that, the Property Defence Association and similar organisations of the landlords being reduced to bankruptcy, the refusal to pay rents must soon achieve its own practical acceptance. In this position of affairs an appeal was made to the liberality of the British nation, and a committee was formed at the Mansion House, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, to aid Irish landlords in the assertion of their rights by legal process, and in measures to prevent the subsequent defeat of those rights by "boycotting"

or otherwise. The "no rent" policy is still upheld by secret combination and terrorism, but a distinct improvement is marked in the conduct of the juries at the Winter Assizes, where a large number of convictions in agrarian cases have been obtained. It appears that if the constabulary, who are to be reinforced by drafts from the Army Reserve, are able to effect arrests, and if prosecutions are vigorously pressed by the legal authorities, the fears or ill-will of jurors cannot be now regarded as the chief obstacle in the path of justice.

The condition of Ireland furnished material for an extraordinary succession of political speeches during the recess, in very few of which were any practical suggestions for dealing with the actual difficulty to be found. Attack and apology drifted into recriminations of ever-increasing bitterness. Parliament had been prorogued with a general sense of relief after a long and weary session, but exasperation as well as exhaustion soured the political temper. The conflict between the two Houses had whetted the zeal of party, and politicians reduced to silence by obstruction were eager to have their say at last. The leaders of parties, as well as the rank and file, kept up a constant interchange of speeches.

The most remarkable episode in this unfruitful campaign was Mr. Gladstone's visit to Leeds, where he delivered a series of orations scarcely less vigorous than those of the Midlothian contest. But even Mr. Gladstone could not overcome the inherent difficulties of the situation. There was no practical issue to be debated. The results of the Liberal policy in Ireland were, as they still are, involved in doubt, and predictions, favourable or unfavourable, were equally unfit to be taken as a basis of discussion. The questions to be dealt with in the next session were not settled, with the exception of the projected revision of the rules of the House of Commons, of which, however, Ministers were unable or unwilling to speak, except in general terms.

The speeches of the autumn, therefore, were concerned almost exclusively with the past, and went over ground which had been repeatedly traversed in public controversy while Parliament was sitting. The original responsibility for the dangerous growth of Irish disaffection, the manner in which the questions arising out of the Treaty of Berlin had been settled, the expediency of the abandonment of Candahar and of the retro-

cession of the Transvaal, were among the battles fought over and over on every platform. Some speakers, indeed, went back complacently to the issues on which the general election of 1880 had turned. Others fastened upon isolated statements in the utterances of their opponents. Mr. Gladstone's public declarations on the Irish question, of course, excited interest before the blow fell on the Land League, but in general even Ministers had to confine themselves to controversial commonplaces.

On the other side popular curiosity was attracted to Lord Salisbury, whose title to succeed Lord Beaconsfield not only as leader of the Conservative majority in the House of Lords but as chief of the party was on trial. Lord Salisbury's speeches at Newcastle and Bristol were full of vigour, though not without evidence of the faults which adverse critics had discerned in his character. Occupying a nominally coequal position, Sir Stafford Northcote falls far behind where the Opposition have to assume the offensive. For the present, however, the attacks of the Opposition have no definite object, and in the opinion of many Conservatives Lord Salisbury's energy is a dangerous gift. Though the Liberals have lost several seats since the general election, and though their majorities, even where they keep their ground, are dwindling—a view which the municipal elections, even if unimportant in themselves, go far to confirm—there is no probability that, were there to be an immediate appeal to the country, the Conservatives would be successful. In the present state of Ireland especially the Opposition, for reasons of party prudence as well as of public interest, must be solicitous to avoid administrative responsibilities, and this fact paralyses much of the political criticism which, nevertheless, has to be produced, in immense quantity, by competitors for the favour of provincial audiences.

While seats have been lost and won, we have to record few Ministerial changes. The retirement of the Duke of Argyll from the Cabinet in consequence of his disapproval of the Land Bill made way for Lord Carlingford's return to office as Lord Privy Seal. Mr. Grant Duff, taking the place of the late Mr. Adam as Governor of Madras, was succeeded as Under-Secretary for the Colonies by Mr. Courtney, previously Under-Secretary to the Home Department. But, in the main, the composition of the Ministry has not been altered since the beginning of the year, nor have any new issues been brought forward in a definite

and practical shape on which Liberal opinion is likely to be divided. The Irish Land Bill, indeed, severely tried the allegiance of many, but that enterprise was universally regarded as exceptional.

Among the questions which lie before the Liberal majority there are some that can hardly fail to precipitate danger and division if extreme views are allowed to prevail. If the strength of Liberalism has been consolidated by the encouragement which some of its opponents have given to protectionist doctrines, the same agricultural depression out of which the "fair trade" movement arose has been productive of extravagant schemes for settling the land question in Great Britain. Early in the recess the extension of the Irish Land Bill to Scotland was demanded by the farmers of Aberdeenshire, and a plan of legislation produced by the "Farmers' Alliance" in this country has claimed the introduction by law of what practically amounts to a "joint proprietorship" between landlord and tenant. The discussion of the subject, as yet, happily, not here inflamed by party passions, has shown that, whatever remedies for agricultural distress may be needful, the problem in Great Britain differs radically from that in Ireland. Attention has been turned to the possibility of relieving the land by the redistribution of local burdens. Many questions connected with local government in rural districts have also come to the front, and Mr. Goschen's speeches on the subject have stimulated thought and inquiry.

The claims of external policy have been overshadowed by the Irish question. European affairs were pushed into the background. Outside the circle of domestic politics the Transvaal war was viewed with the most painful and absorbing interest. At the close of last year the insurrection of the Boers had just become known in England. When Parliament met it was the general and confident expectation, as the language of the Speech from the throne proved, that the Queen's authority would be at once restored, and that the Boers would yield to the display of armed power under Sir George Colley. The event showed that the insurgents were determined as well as brave. Having invested the British garrisons in the Transvaal, they advanced into Natal, and Sir George Colley unfortunately attempted, with a wholly inadequate force, to dislodge them from a strong position at Laing's Nek. He was repulsed with heavy loss,

and, little more than a week later, without waiting for his reinforcements, he fought another unsuccessful battle, at Ingogo, in the vain hope of clearing his communications.

Sir Evelyn Wood hastened to the front with all the troops he could gather, and, with patience and caution, the Boer positions would probably have been forced almost bloodlessly. Sir George Colley, however, burning to retrieve his credit, threw himself, with a small body of troops, upon Majuba Hill, whence, as he supposed, he could turn Laing's Nek. The bold enterprise was momentarily successful, but the Boers, discovering their enemy's weakness, attacked in force and stormed the hill, driving the British to flight, with terrible slaughter. Sir George Colley was among the slain. The colonists of Natal were panic-stricken, but Sir Evelyn Wood stood manfully on the defensive. It was at once resolved by the Home Government to increase the army in Natal to 15,000 men and to send out Sir Frederick Roberts to take the command. Negotiations had been opened, however, with the Boers with a view to a pacific settlement of differences, and the Cabinet did not conceive that the reasons in favour of that policy were outweighed by the fact that Sir George Colley's imprudence had involved his army in disaster. A few days after the storming of Majuba Hill, Sir Evelyn Wood concluded an armistice with the "Triumvirate" who formed the provisional Government of the Boers, and when Sir Frederick Roberts reached the Cape he found that the war was over. Peace, indeed, was more than once in danger after the armistice; the younger Boers were insubordinate and excited, and the enforced surrender of Potchefstroom was justly condemned as a breach of good faith.

At length, however, hostilities were formally suspended till the terms upon which the Boers were to enjoy "self-government" had been settled by a Commission. The Commissioners were Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of the Cape Colony, and Chief Justice de Villiers, with Mr. Brand, President of the Orange Free State. The Convention adopted by the Commissioners, reserving to the British Crown a "suzerainty" which was made to include control over the foreign relations of the Boers and their dealings with the native races, was carried out in August, when the Republican Government was placed in full possession of the Transvaal. It still remained for the "Volksraad" to ratify these arrangements, and a majority of

the younger Boers were inclined to resist. The objections of the Volksraad to the reserved powers of "suzerainty" were met by the Imperial Government with a declaration that the Convention must be accepted in its integrity. Preparations for war were ordered in Natal and at home, and Mr. Gladstone spoke in firm tones at Leeds. The recalcitrant Boers were not prepared to face a renewal of war ; their opposition was waived, and the Convention is now in force as regulating, at least in form, the relations between this country and the Transvaal.

The difficulties of the Government in dealing with South African affairs on any general principles of policy have been increased by colonial fractiousness and sectional feeling. Mr. Sprigg's Ministry at the Cape had become involved in trouble through the mismanagement of the Basuto war, which was ended by a patched-up and doubtful arrangement, and their advocacy of the unpopular confederation scheme gave the Cape Town Legislature an opportunity of getting rid of them. During the Transvaal quarrel the Dutch population of the Cape Colony had shown intense sympathy with their insurgent kinsmen. The attitude of the Natal colonists was equally unconciliatory and inconsistent with an intercolonial union ; they hotly denounced the Convention with the Boers, and exhibited an irrational jealousy of the Home Government in a protest against Mr. Sendall's nomination as Lieutenant-Governor. Though in this matter Lord Kimberley yielded to the wishes of the colonists, the temper shown is most unsatisfactory. At no time has there been less prospect of an amicable alliance of the South African settlements, subject to the supreme authority of the Crown. Fortunately, the danger of a general native war is for the present removed.

In our other colonies we have no such troubles or disasters to record. New Zealand, it is true, was thrown into alarm by the preaching of a native "prophet," Te Whiti, who succeeded in making the Maories believe that he possessed miracle-working powers, which he could and would use to expel the British and to restore the land to its original owners. The Maories, under Te Whiti's influence, began to interfere with the progress of settlement on the West Coast, obstructing the opening of roads and erecting barriers against the occupation of State lands. The Colonial Government hesitated to adopt extreme measures; and the Minister of Native Affairs in consequence resigned, to be

recalled some months later when the danger had grown more threatening. In November a proclamation was issued warning Te Whiti to desist from his incitements to rebellion, and a force of 1700 men marched to Parihaka, the centre of disaffection, demanding an answer. The "prophet" fell back on silence and passive resistance, and his followers seem really to have believed that a miracle would be wrought for his deliverance and his foes' discomfiture. He was arrested and sent under a strong guard to New Plymouth, and his power has been apparently annulled by the falsification of his predictions.

The Australian colonies have been pursuing a career of steady prosperity, of which they are taking full advantage by coming into the Money-market at home as large borrowers. Victoria has made relatively the least advance, as this year's census proves, which may be due in part to political disturbance and in part to the burden of a protective tariff. The former cause has been, for a time, removed. The long-pending quarrel between the two branches of the Legislature at Melbourne was brought to an end by a reasonable measure of compromise, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Berry's Ministry to provoke a violent crisis. The constitution of the Council was liberalised, but no revolutionary changes—such as the *plébiscite* or the adoption of Bills on the vote of one Chamber only—were imported into the political system of the colony. Soon afterwards Mr. Berry's Ministry was overthrown by a combination of enemies, and Sir Bryan O'Loughlen formed a Government, which still subsists.

In the Dominion of Canada we have to chronicle no political events of general interest. The Marquis of Lorne's visit to the North-West evoked the warmest popular feeling, and there is not the least evidence to support the rumours of the American Press that a Canadian movement for "independence" is ripening. The controversy arising out of the Fortune Bay Fishery claims has been settled by an agreement to pay the United States Government £15,000 for the damage inflicted on the American fishing fleet by the inhabitants of the Newfoundland coast.

The departure of the present Administration from the policy of Lord Beaconsfield was as marked in India as in South Africa. The evacuation of Candahar had been decided in principle before Parliament met, and it was not considered that either the advance of the Russians in the Turkoman country or the menacing attitude of Ayoob Khan at Herat justified a change of

view. The subject was discussed in both Houses of Parliament, and the Ministry, though of course defeated in the Upper House, was supported in the Lower by a majority of 110. In April the city of Candahar was placed in the hands of the Ameer Abdurrahman's representatives. But the new Government was unpopular among the tribes of Southern Afghanistan, and the allegiance of the Ghilzais, on which its stability mainly depended, was more than doubtful. Ayoob Khan, who was watching and intriguing at Herat, struck boldly and heavily at his rival, the Ameer, in July, defeating the army of the latter at Karez-i-atta, upon which the Ameer's adherents fled or submitted, and Candahar at once received the conqueror. But Ayoob's triumph was brief. The Ameer, showing more spirit than he had been credited with, led an army southward in person, obtaining the support of the Ghilzais, and in September shattered the hostile power of his cousin, who fled to Herat and thence to Persia. Herat not long after fell into Abdurrahman's power, and for the time at least he appears to have succeeded to the predominance enjoyed at different times by Dost Mohammed and Shere Ali. The British troops still occupy Pishin and Sibi, in deference to the opinion of the Indian authorities, though the Home Government has been anxious to withdraw wholly from Afghan territory.

The financial difficulty still continues to harass and hamper the Indian Government both in foreign and domestic policy ; but the year has been on the whole prosperous as well as peaceful, and the success of the latest loan proves that the credit of the Empire stands higher than at any former time. Some excitement has been created, among Anglo-Indians as well as natives, by the report that the Government intend to reimpose an income tax, with a view to the abolition of the remaining import duties on cotton goods. The protests of all classes against a policy which has been condemned by statesmen of every party connected with Indian administration will probably prevent the practical adoption of this idea.

The return of Anglo-Indian policy to the old lines of non-intervention was rendered possible by the removal of immediate causes of disturbance in Eastern Europe and the abandonment of an active and disturbing policy on the part of Russia. When the year opened, it seemed too probable that the Greek frontier question might still involve the Continent in a perilous

war, the limits of which no human foresight could lay down or maintain. Turkey refused to acknowledge the authority of the Berlin Conference, and the French Government, which had originally championed the claims of Greece, had declared that Europe had no right to insist on the award being enforced. Diplomacy laboured hard to devise and impose a compromise, but in the beginning with little prospect of success. The Greek Government, convinced that the Powers would submit to anything rather than allow a conflagration to break out in the East, spoke in an imperative strain, and prepared openly for war. The excitement of the Athenian population was ingeniously displayed as a warning of what would happen inevitably if all that the Berlin Conference had given was not conceded by, or extorted from, the Porte.

The Ambassadors at Constantinople, however, after long and patient negotiations, joined in a note to the Greek Government recommending the acceptance of the utmost that Turkey could be brought to yield. The new frontier line left the greater part of Epirus, with Janina and Metzovo, to Turkey, giving Greece possession of almost all Thessaly and the command of the Gulf of Arta. The Greeks were infuriated ; Athens was, or seemed to be, for some days on the verge of revolution, and M. Coumoundouros, the Prime Minister, strove to evade the popular wrath by meeting the powers with swelling and ambiguous language. Resistance, nevertheless, was seen to be idle, and the clouds quickly passed away. The only doubt remaining turned upon the good faith and promptitude of the Porte in carrying out the cession of territory as arranged, which was peaceably accomplished early in the autumn. It was obvious that, if the aim of Russian policy was, as it had been some years before, the disturbance of the existing settlement in Eastern Europe, the Greek difficulty might have had a more disastrous issue. But Russia, for a time at least, had assumed a reserved and conservative position in her foreign relations. She had even made a pause in her advance in Central Asia. The campaign against the Akhal-Tekke Turcomans had ended with the capture of their stronghold of Geok Tepe, and General Skobeleff had advanced towards Merv. The project of railway extension from the Caspian to the south-east through Askabad was warmly taken up. But a reaction was at hand. General Skobeleff was recalled, and the Russian Government was at

much pains to prove that no aggressive designs were entertained in any part of the world. The dangerous dispute with China was closed by the cession of Kuldja, in pursuance of the same line of policy, and the intrigues of the "war party" at Pekin were thus frustrated. Moreover, Russian diplomacy set to work not unsuccessfully to renew the ties which had formerly bound together the great monarchies of Central Europe.

This remarkable change of policy had its origin in the terrible crime which startled the civilised world on the 13th of March. The Emperor of Russia, returning to the Winter Palace from a review, was attacked by Nihilist assassins armed with dynamite bombs. The first explosion failed in its object, but while the Czar was seeing to the safety of his injured guards a second bomb was thrown, which inflicted fatal and horrible wounds. After lingering a few hours Alexander II. passed away. His reign will be remembered in history for many striking incidents and some unexpected developments of Russian character. By the irony of fate the Emancipator of the Serfs was the ruler under whom Nihilism, the most determined and ruthless embodiment of the revolutionary spirit, made itself feared and powerful.

The new Czar, Alexander III., succeeded his father without any outward sign of popular restlessness. He had been supposed to entertain strong Panslavist and anti-German views, but his influence was immediately thrown on the Conservative side both in home and foreign politics. After some hesitation General Ignatief was placed at the head of the internal Government, and the Nihilist danger has been combated by repression rather than concession. The murderers of Alexander II. were, of course, punished relentlessly, and other revolutionists were hunted down with renewed vigour. It was believed for a moment that the great Powers might be induced to join in measures for the eradication of Nihilism, and the right of asylum in neutral countries was violently attacked by the Russian Press.

Abroad, the diplomacy of Russia was active in removing occasions and apprehensions of war, and plainly desirous of showing that the Northern Empire would willingly take its place once more, not formally, but cordially, in the concert of Europe. These dispositions were not instantly recognised, but in the autumn the German and Russian Emperors met at Dantsic, and soon afterwards the King of Italy was received

with enthusiasm at Vienna. In the Speech from the throne at the opening of the German Reichstag it was announced that the agreement of the three Empires was "a trustworthy pledge for the preservation of European peace." Whether Italy was or was not included in the spirit of this declaration may be questioned, but the Tunisian enterprise of France has alienated the Italians from their nearest neighbours.

The bearing of these events on the future of the Balkan Peninsula has been the subject of controversy and alarmist rumours. Austria has acquired influence in Servia and has exercised pressure upon Roumania, a principality which was elevated to the rank of a kingdom during the year. The ultimate object of Austrian policy is said to be the acquisition of Salonica, and the creation on the *Aegean* of another Trieste. But this is not likely to be attempted while the understanding between Russia and Germany lasts. For the same reason Russia will not use for disturbing purposes her influence over Bulgaria, strengthened by Prince Alexander's *coup d'état* last summer, which struck down the native revolutionary party. The Prince, protesting that the democratic constitution of Tirnova was unworkable, demanded a *plébiscite*, to decide whether his abdication and withdrawal were to be accepted, or whether he was to be granted dictatorial powers for seven years. The elections resulted as a matter of course in the victory of the Prince, which for the moment appears, among other things, to have checked the intrigues for the reconstruction of the "Great Bulgaria" of the San Stefano treaty.

The parts of the Ottoman Empire still under the direct rule of the Sultan have not witnessed any important political movements, though the Porte has been busy with the affairs of Tunis and Tripoli, of Egypt and Arabia. The personal authority of Abdul Hamid has been strengthened by the downfall of some of the best known of "the Pashas," several of whom, including Midhat, were convicted, after an inquiry of a doubtful character, of complicity in the murder of Abdul Aziz. The financial embarrassments of the Porte have been growing, and the necessity of doing something to re-establish Turkish credit has led to a new arrangement with the bondholders, whose interests were represented by Mr. Bourke during the negotiations. The Iradó settling the new terms has just been published, and it is not yet certainly known what action the Russian Government will

take in the interest of the war indemnity claim. The reduction of the nominal principal of the debt to the amount actually received and the payment of a reduced interest, to be gradually increased, are the terms on which a new hypothecation of revenues is conceded, partly for the advantage of the bond-holders, and partly for that of the Galata bankers, lately unable to make further cash advances to the Porte. The influence of the German Government at Constantinople is one of the most singular developments of Ottoman intrigue, but its effect upon the politics of Eastern Europe has not yet been apparent.

The difficulties of the Turkish Government have probably fostered more than one of the "questions" which have arisen during the year on the outskirts of the Empire. The ambiguous relations between the Porte and the countries on the Mediterranean coast of Africa are complicated by the authority of the Sultan as Caliph over independent, or semi-independent, Mahomedan populations.

Egypt during the early part of the year was unusually tranquil and prosperous. The Government of the Khedive Tewfik, under the European Control, had been, it seemed, fairly established, although the new system was not free from the dangers of international jealousies and intrigues. In September Arabi Bey, a colonel in the Egyptian service, headed a mutiny of the troops, surrounding Tewfik Pasha in his palace, and dictating the dismissal of Riaz Pasha's Ministry. The mutineers professed to be actuated by "national" aims, and they were, it seems, equally jealous of European interference and of the influence of the Sultan. Sherif Pasha, who succeeded Riaz, had to soothe the restless spirit of the military class by partial concessions. The Porte attempted, though vainly, to guide the progress of events by sending a Mission to Cairo.

Meanwhile the difficulties of the Dual Control were forcibly illustrated by the divergence between English and French opinion. It was plain that anarchy in Egypt could not be tolerated, but every method of dealing with it—an Anglo-French expedition, or a separate expedition by either Power, or an appeal to the Sultan—would have met with violent opposition in France or in England. Order has been for the present restored, but the elements of disturbance have not been removed. Cordial and complete harmony between French and English policy in Egyptian affairs has not been rendered

easier by what has happened in Tunis. French ambition had long been attracted to Tunis, and was whetted rather than checked by Italian rivalry. The interference of M. Roustan, the French Consul-General, with a claim in which a British subject was opposed by a French speculative company had attracted attention early in the year, but a new question was raised in the spring, when French complaints of the misdoings of a border tribe, the Kroumirs, began to take a serious form. Preparations for war were made, but M. St. Hilaire, the French Foreign Minister, gave assurances, which for the time satisfied both England and Italy, that only the chastisement of the robber tribesmen was intended. The Prime Minister, M. Jules Ferry, made the same statement to the Chambers. But the moment the French troops crossed the Algerian frontier the pretence of chastising the Kroumirs was dropped; General Bréart advanced with an imposing force upon the capital, which he entered without resistance or declaration of war, and after a military display before the palace the Bey yielded and signed a treaty by which France was practically invested with a Protectorate, the right of occupying any necessary points in Tunisian territory, the control of foreign and financial policy, and the nomination of M. Roustan as "Resident."

The protests of England and Italy, as well as Turkey, were disregarded, but the aggression soon bore painful fruit, which damped the enthusiasm of the Chauvinists. Mahomedan fanaticism was stirred from Tripoli, where the Turkish troops were reinforced, to Morocco. An insurrection broke out in Southern Algeria, and an Arab rising in the Regency of Tunis itself compelled the French to lay siege to Sfax, and to strike repeated blows at an almost ubiquitous and invisible enemy. At length, after extravagant efforts, an expedition to the sacred city of Kairwan, which the French troops occupied without difficulty, appeared for a short time to have cowed the tribes. But troubles have again broken out, the French troops are again in the field against the Arabs, and it is not to be supposed that the last has been heard of the new foes whom France has called into activity.

The Tunisian expedition had an important effect on the domestic politics and the foreign relations of France. The pretensions of M. Gambetta to the first place in the political sphere had been practically admitted by all parties, yet M.

Ferry's Ministry still remained nominally in power. The great internal question on which opinion was divided was raised in May by the *Scrutin de Liste* Bill, which was carried in the Chamber of Deputies, though by a smaller majority than had been anticipated. M. Gambetta's friends were confident of his victory ; in a series of speeches at Cahors he took a Conservative tone, and pronounced the revision of the Constitution inopportune. But the Senate unexpectedly mustered up courage to throw out the Election Bill, and M. Gambetta's attempt thereupon to precipitate an appeal to the country was ill received by the Lower Chamber. M. Ferry strove to rally an independent Republican party with the cry, "*Ni révision, ni division,*" but the only effect was to accentuate M. Gambetta's advanced views, and to relieve the latter from a part of the animosity of the Extreme Left which was arrayed against him under M. Clémenceau. The elections resulted in the return of a large Gambettist majority, the Bonapartist and Bourbonist sections were almost annulled, numbering together barely one-sixth of the Chamber, while the Extreme Left was almost equally weak.

It was at first imagined that M. Ferry might remain in office, but the gloss had by this time been taken off the Tunisian enterprise, and M. Gambetta shrewdly evaded direct responsibility for a doubtful policy. The Chambers met in November, and M. Ferry had to face a debate on Tunis, in which, though the treaty with the Bey was approved, much damaging criticism, both on the motives and the conduct of the expedition, made itself heard. M. Ferry resigned, and only one successor was possible. M. Gambetta failed to secure as colleagues such men as M. Léon Say and M. de Freycinet, and fell back upon a Cabinet of which the only well-known member was the Minister of Public Worship and Public Instruction, M. Paul Bert, a vehement Anti-Clerical.

Of the policy of the new Government no striking indications have yet been given. Though the separation from Radicalism marked by M. Gambetta's defeat at the Belleville election has been defined by the hostile attitude of the Extreme Left, the Ministerial programme embraces several advanced measures, and even Moderate Republicans have been compelled to declare for the abolition of life senatorships. The Church has been alarmed by the avowed intention of the Government to insist

on a strict interpretation of the Concordat. The attacks of the Radical Press upon the Tunisian enterprise forced M. Roustan, the "Resident" imposed upon the Bey, to proceed for damages in Paris against M. Rochefort and others. It had been asserted that the expedition originated in scandalous stock-jobbing schemes, and that M. Roustan was involved in corrupt and discreditable intrigues. The charges were denied, but the jury believed that there was sufficient ground for them to justify a verdict in M. Rochefort's favour.

The aggressive designs of France in North Africa have alienated the Italian people from the French connection. Italy felt that she had been not only despoiled, but tricked, and the immediate effect of the French policy was to shatter party organisation in the Parliament at Rome. The Cairoli Cabinet resigned ; the Liberal majority was torn by dissensions, and the present "Ministry of Affairs," formed by Signor Depretis, is insecure. Popular movements and Ministerial declarations have disclosed the feeling towards France, and the royal visit to Vienna was planned to throw Italian influence openly into the scale with the Imperial allies. The isolation of France, and, perhaps, too, the proof afforded by the Tunisian campaign that her military system is far from perfect, have justified the confidence with which Prince Bismarck has lately spoken on the results of the foreign policy of Germany.

Italy in the meantime, restless and unstable, urged by her Radicals to a rupture with the Papacy—so that the Pope's removal to Malta or Salzburg has been again discussed—is about to try the hazardous experiment of an extension of the franchise.

The internal politics of Germany have been scarcely less troubled. Prince Bismarck, irritated at the Liberal opposition to his financial schemes and his "State Socialism" in the last Reichstag, has inclined to a compromise with the Ultramontanes. The elections, however, cast doubts on the expediency of a Conservative-Clerical alliance. The supporters of the Chancellor were badly beaten, but neither the Liberals nor the Clericals secured a working majority, though the more advanced section of the former was both numerically and morally strengthened. The Speech from the throne proved that Prince Bismarck, in spite of his defeat, was resolved not to concede anything. Relying upon the divisions of his opponents,

the Chancellor announced that the rejected Bills would be brought in again. The negotiations with the Vatican are still proceeding, and until their issue is known speculation as to the course of German policy will be futile.

The domestic annals of Austria-Hungary, in spite of the perennial jealousies of Germans and Czechs and the antipathy of the Magyars to Slavonic development in the Balkan Peninsula, have been uneventful. No change of policy has followed the choice of Count Kalnoky as the late Baron Haymerle's successor as Foreign Minister.

Turning to a different quarter, we have to record a Ministerial crisis and a general election in Spain. The Conservative Cabinet of Señor Canovas del Castillo was overthrown early in the year, and a coalition between Señor Sagasta and General Martinez Campos came into power. The change was not violent, and has been beneficial to the country politically and financially. As usual, the elections have gone in favour of the party in power, and in the new Cortes the Ministerialists are five or six times as many as the Conservatives and Republicans together. It may be noted that not long before the elections Don Carlos was ordered to leave France. Spanish pride has been gratified by the Special Mission from England which carried the Garter to King Alfonso in the autumn, though this has not prevented a revival of the outcry for the cession of Gibraltar. The grant of a charter by the British Government to a company claiming sovereignty in North Borneo by grant from the Sultan of Sooloo has excited Spanish jealousy, and a similar spirit has induced the Portuguese Legislature to refuse to ratify the Lourenço Marques Treaty.

In the United States it seemed that prosperity had put an end to political activity when General Garfield succeeded President Hayes in March last. In Mr. Garfield's Cabinet the most conspicuous member was Mr. Blaine. The rivalry between Mr. Blaine and Senator Conkling, of New York, the chief of the Republican party in the Senate, led to a fierce contest over some of the President's appointments, in which, after delays and dead-locks, Mr. Conkling was beaten. He resigned, and appealed to his party to re-elect him as a rebuke to the President. The bitter party feeling produced by this strife had unexpected and terrible consequences. Charles Guiteau, a flighty and disreputable adherent of the "Stalwart" faction, lay in wait for

President Garfield at the railway station in Washington, and shot him twice in the back. The wounds were not immediately fatal, and the President's vigorous constitution enabled him to battle long and strenuously for life. The shock caused by this crime, which had, however, no political significance, was deep and world-wide. The opponents of General Garfield for the time effaced themselves, and Mr. Arthur, the Vice-President, was prompt in showing that he had no sympathy with them. General Garfield's dying scenes, full of pathos and dignity, fixed the attention of the civilised world. His death, after eleven weeks of cruel suffering, drew the English and American peoples close together by a spontaneous movement of feeling, a fact recognised gracefully by President Arthur in ordering the salute of the British flag at the anniversary festival of the Yorktown surrender.

It is to be regretted that the impression of General Garfield's death has been weakened by the protracted and unbecoming wrangles into which Guiteau's trial at Washington, not yet ended, was allowed to degenerate. President Arthur, while professing a desire not to separate himself from the traditions of his predecessor's administration, has got rid of several of his Ministers, among them Mr. Blaine. There would be less reason to regret this if we could hope that Mr. Frelinghuysen, Mr. Blaine's successor, would follow a more moderate course in international politics than the late Secretary of State. Mr. Blaine's despatches on the Panama Canal question and the relations between Chili and Peru have given rise to the belief that the American Republicans are tending towards a Chauvinist policy. The pretensions of the United States to an exclusive right of intervention in Central and South America are quite new corollaries from the original Monroe doctrine. The Chilians, who obtained the victory in a just war, which was crowned by the capture of Lima in January, will not be inclined to submit to dictation, at least unless the army and navy of the United States should be largely reinforced.

The death-roll of the year includes many illustrious names. We have already noticed in passing the crimes by which the Czar of All the Russias and the President of the United States were cut off. At home a remarkable and almost unique figure disappeared from the political scene. The loss of Lord Beaconsfield has profoundly modified the attitude and prospects of the

Conservative party and deprived the nation of a rare type of genius.

One still rarer, though more akin to English character, was removed in Carlyle, whose influence was rapidly fading, but whose intense spirit had left a deep mark on the intellectual and moral movement of the last generation. In Dean Stanley literature and popular enlightenment, even more than the Church, lost a singular and most striking exemplar of "sweet reasonableness."

Lord Hatherley, Lord Justice James, and Lord Justice Lush were great lawyers and something more, and Sir John Karslake, but for the blindness which darkened his later days, would have stood on the same level. It is sufficient to name Mr. Adam, one of the ablest of Liberal "whips," who did not long survive his appointment as Governor of Madras; Archbishop MacHale, formerly one of the most energetic and audacious of the Irish Roman Catholic prelates; Dr. Cumming, once the best known of popular preachers; Mr. James Spedding, the editor and biographer of Bacon; Mr. W. R. Greg, a vigorous and incisive critic in letters and politics; Mr. Street, the most successful of recent architects; Mr. Edward Miall, a pillar of British Nonconformity; and Mr. Sothern, the creator of Lord Dundreary.

France, too, lost many eminent men, among them M. Dufaure, M. Littré, and M. de Girardin; Germany, Professor Blüntschi, a high authority on international law; Austria, Baron Haymerle, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and General Benedek; and Italy, Count Arrivabene.

The census for the United Kingdom was taken in April, and showed that the population was, in round numbers, 35,000,000—nearly 26,000,000 in England and Wales, under 4,000,000 in Scotland, and over 5,000,000 in Ireland. The increase during the past decade was ascertained to be 3,600,000 in Great Britain, against a decrease in Ireland of 225,000. In India the census showed a total population of nearly 253,000,000, about 13,000,000 over the previous enumeration.

The year was not specially remarkable for social incidents, or for literary, scientific, and artistic events. The publication of the revised edition of the New Testament excited very general interest. There were few sensational trials, civil or criminal, and, happily, not many great crimes. The conviction of Lefroy for the murder of Mr. Gold may be held to deserve mention,

An extraordinary outrage—the theft of Lord Crawford's body from the family tomb at Dunecht—remains still a mystery, but it is believed that the police are at last on the track of the guilty. Though public opinion seems resolved to put down electoral corruption by law, the sentences on the Macclesfield and Sandwich bribers produced something like a popular agitation, and a protest to which the Government very properly turned a deaf ear. In another department of judicial interpretation of law, the Court of Appeal has interfered to prevent an unintended and enormous extension of household suffrage in boroughs through the construction put by the judges in the first instance upon the definitions of a statute of secondary importance passed in 1878. The world of "sport" was amazed and exercised by the victories of the American horses Iroquois and Foxhall, the latter almost unmatched for successes in the annals of racing.

Among miscellaneous occurrences may be noted the accident to the Saladin balloon, which carried off Mr. Powell, M.P. for Malmesbury, and of which nothing has since been heard ; the vast landslip which buried a whole village at Elm, in Switzerland ; and the burning of the Ring Theatre, in Vienna, involving, it is computed, a loss of 447 lives. Another disaster of a similar kind at Warsaw has led to a shameful outbreak of persecuting spirit against the Polish Jews, who were wrongfully held responsible for raising a false alarm of fire.

## 1882

THE year which ends to-morrow has been remarkable for a succession of unexpected and stirring events in the domain of politics, foreign as well as domestic, but in other respects it has not risen above the level of the commonplace. In business, in society, in literature and art, there have been no dramatic incidents to record. Even political vicissitudes, though full of interest for the people of the United Kingdom, will not, with one exception, be remembered among the cardinal movements of history.

The Egyptian expedition, notwithstanding its brilliant and complete success and the important issues of policy opened up by the achievement, can hardly be compared, for its hold upon the national mind, with the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, the Secession conflict in the United States, or the death-struggle between France and Germany. No one of the great Powers of Europe has been tried during the past twelve months by the clash of international ambitions or by the upheavals of revolution. The peace of the Continent has been preserved, and, in spite of some outbreaks of popular bitterness abroad, ostensibly or actually moved by jealousy of English influence in Egypt, diplomatic relations have been maintained on the satisfactory basis of a good understanding between the leading States and a general desire to avoid occasions of quarrel.

At home, the reform of Parliamentary procedure and the state of Ireland divided public attention. The Irish policy of the Government has been complicated by a series of sudden changes, into which Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have been led by a natural disinclination to recognise the fact that the working of the Land Act has not yet removed, or even

diminished in any perceptible way, disaffection and organised crime in Ireland. During the first half of the year the Opposition appeared to be steadily gaining ground upon the party in power. The bye-elections in North Yorkshire, Preston, Northampton, East Cornwall, the West Riding, and Taunton showed generally a falling-off in the Liberal polls, and a corresponding increase in the Conservative polls, compared with the results of the previous contests. The Ministry, to outward seeming, suffered by the successive secession from the Cabinet of Mr. Forster and Mr. Bright, even more than by the withdrawal of the Duke of Argyll the year before. The condemnation of Mr. Gladstone's policy upon two vital issues by the seceding Ministers was not without support outside. A section of the Advanced Liberals denounced British intervention in Egypt, while the concessions to Irish agitation were censured by several eminent Whigs, such as Lord Grey, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Lord Fortescue, and induced a few—Lord Zetland and Lord Brabourne, for example—to declare themselves Conservatives.

It was one of the surprises of modern politics that the Egyptian expedition—a measure, as many of his own followers contended, inconsistent with the principles maintained by the Prime Minister when attacking the Beaconsfield Government—renewed the popularity and extended the influence of the Administration. A few fanatical devotees of non-intervention continued to protest, but the nation at large, almost without distinction of party, applauded the means taken for the protection of British interests in Egypt, and regarded with keen satisfaction the proof given that the naval and military services were ably organised and skilfully handled. A revival of the warlike spirit of Englishmen, such as the country has seen from time to time, and usually without warning, was stimulated by the achievements of the fleet and the army. Conservative criticism was forced to take into account the drift of public opinion, especially as it lay in the direction of what was deemed a Conservative foreign policy. Ministers were able to hold their ground without difficulty against any attacks so long as the attention of the country was turned towards the Egyptian successes. To this was mainly due the comparative ease with which Mr. Gladstone, in the autumn session, carried through the *closure* and the other reforms of procedure, although in the preceding May he had been willing to make a concession to his

opponents, which would have saved the authority and responsibility of the Opposition.

The autumnal campaign in politics had been energetic and untiring, but politicians for the most part were fighting with their hands tied. The future of English policy in Egypt was unknown, and in the absence of light public men were wisely unwilling to commit themselves to any decisive utterances. Perhaps the most curious feature in the campaign was the oratorical invasion of Scotland—first by Sir Stafford Northcote in October, and afterwards by Lord Salisbury in November. The autumn session was occupied by protracted debates on procedure, which showed that the discipline of the Liberals was strict, and that in the House of Commons, despite notorious differences of opinion, the Ministry were still sure of an ample working majority. In the country, however, the edge was taken off the Ministerial success in Egypt by the prominence given to other topics. The renewal of troubles in Ireland and the doubts cast anew upon the satisfactory working of the Land and the Arrears Acts aided in bringing out evidences of a partial reaction. The Conservatives exulted in their victory at Salisbury, where the Liberal sitting member had vacated his seat on accepting a subordinate office in the Royal household, and in their greatly augmented majority at Wigan. But these gains were much more than counterbalanced by their unexpected defeat at Liverpool; though, as two-fifths of the constituency did not go to the poll, it is doubtful how far the issue can be regarded as showing the tendency of public opinion. Mr. Forster, who visited Glasgow in December, pointed to the Liverpool election as a proof of the popularity of the Government, the policy of which, in one vital part—the treatment of Irish disaffection—he, nevertheless, severely criticised.

The path of the Government was smoothed by the complete extinction of the Protectionist movement masquerading under the title of "Fair Trade" and the subsidence of discontent and agitation among the agricultural classes in Great Britain. The improvement in trade prospects, both industrial and commercial, was undoubted, though the corresponding increase of revenue was slow in answering to the hopes of financiers, and some branches of business remained in a state of depression. Public securities of recognised solidity were high in price throughout

the year, and the Money-market, notwithstanding spasmodic movements due to the alarms of foreign politics, was, on the whole, steady. There were no disastrous panics, no serious conflicts between labour and capital. It is a proof of the stability produced by the lean years which had gone before, with their lessons of thrift and caution, that this country scarcely felt the shock of the financial collapse of the Union Générale in Paris or the vicissitudes of the Egyptian crisis.

Protective tariffs in foreign countries, and even in some of our own colonies, continue to restrict the development of British trade with other communities. The negotiations for a renewal of the commercial treaty with France, after repeated efforts, were abandoned in April last as hopeless, but arrangements were concluded on "the most favoured nation" basis which have worked fairly well. Commerce and manufactures at home, though free from serious disturbances, showed an incurable tendency to fluctuation.

Agriculture, after all the greatest of British industries, has not yet been rewarded by a really plenteous harvest for the trials of recent years; but the crops have, at all events, yielded a return far above the miserable averages of 1879, 1880, and 1881. The mild winter, which was noticed as full of promise for the farmers in the Speech from the throne in February, was followed by fairly seasonable weather up to June, when heavy rains did much damage to the hops and wheat, and ruinously drenched a splendid hay crop. In July and August the weather was chequered, but some intervals of sunshine and drying winds allowed the cereals generally to be harvested without much deterioration. Pasture, roots, and green crops were excellent and abundant. Unfortunately, live stock have been largely reduced in numbers during the period of depression, so that the supply of "feed" exceeded the demand. The improvement in the farmers' position was marked by the failure of political schemes for inoculating England with the agrarian designs which had convulsed Ireland. In the extreme North, however, the contagion was more readily transmitted, and in Skye violent resistance was offered by a portion of the "crofters" to evictions for non-payment of rent.

Among the most interesting social characteristics of the year may be noted a succession of events in which the Queen and the Royal Family bore a prominent part. The attempt on Her

Majesty's life, at Windsor, by a half-crazed creature named Maclean, was followed by the Queen's visit, for much needed quiet and rest, to Mentone. Soon after her return, Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, was married to the Princess Helen of Waldeck. This splendid ceremony was succeeded by one of more popular interest, the formal dedication of Epping Forest—secured from further "enclosure" by the exertions of the Corporation of London—to the use and enjoyment of the people. The Queen's appearance in state on this occasion, and again, much later in the year, when she reviewed in St. James's Park the troops returned from the Egyptian expedition, was surpassed in the imposing effect of magnificent costumes and applauding multitudes by Her Majesty's visit to the Royal Courts of Justice, which were opened formally on the 4th of December. For years Londoners, and, indeed, Englishmen in general, have not witnessed so many state pageants. The personal loyalty of the nation to the Sovereign and the reigning House has been not less clearly shown on minor occasions, on the return of the Prince of Wales' sons from their cruise in the *Bacchante*, and during the illnesses of the Duke of Albany and the Duke of Edinburgh. The Duke of Connaught's good service in command of a division in Egypt was cordially acknowledged by the public.

There have, however, been other proofs that individual influences exercise an undiminished sway over opinion and sentiment in these kingdoms. Though the political strength of the Ministry may have been impaired by the wear and tear of three years' tenure of office, Mr. Gladstone's personal popularity is as great as ever. The Prime Minister's marvellous and self-sufficing powers extort admiration, while the vigour of his will generates antipathies as outspoken almost as those which beset the latter days of Lord Beaconsfield. During the present month Mr. Gladstone's "political jubilee"—the completion of the fiftieth year of his Parliamentary service—was celebrated, and he has entered this week on his seventy-fourth year. It was, however, manifest that even Mr. Gladstone could not continue to bear the threefold burden of the Premiership, the leadership of the House of Commons, and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. There were, too, other provisional arrangements in the Ministry which must soon be corrected. Lord Spencer, while acting as Viceroy of Ireland and a member of

the Cabinet, was also nominally President of the Council, and Lord Kimberley had added the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to that of Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The chief changes in the Administration, besides those in Ireland, which will be presently noticed, were not effected till after the autumn session. Lord Derby then entered the Cabinet as Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Kimberley was removed to the India Office, Lord Hartington to the War Office, and Mr. Childers to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, at length vacated by Mr. Gladstone. A place in the Cabinet was subsequently found for Sir Charles Dilke by Mr. Dodson's transfer from the Presidency of the Local Government Board to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. Fawcett's dangerous illness, which moved universal sympathy, and from which he is now happily recovering, also drew attention to the claims, which cannot long remain without further recognition, of one of the soundest politicians and the ablest administrators in the Government.

A large number of baronetcies and knighthoods, in addition to the rewards for the Egyptian campaign, have been distributed in the past twelve months, but few honours of the highest class. The Lord Chancellor was advanced to the dignity of an earldom on the opening of the Law Courts, and is now Earl of Selborne and Viscount Wolmer; Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Beauchamp Seymour were respectively created Lord Wolseley of Cairo and Lord Alcester on their return from Egypt.

The dual leadership of the Conservative party—Lord Salisbury guiding the majority in the Peers, and Sir Stafford Northcote the minority in the House of Commons—has fairly stood the test of active operations in the face of adversity. Lord Randolph Churchill and his associates of the Fourth Party dislike the tactics of moderation and watchfulness to which the leaders of the Opposition have adhered; but there is no reason for believing that the Conservative party at large desire to break away from the counsels in which both Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote are agreed, and to precipitate, even were it possible, by obstructive measures and alliances with the Irish Secessionist faction, an appeal to the constituencies. The autumn session has shown that the Conservatives, in spite of the effervescing zeal or ambition of a few bold theorists of "Tory Democracy," are united, well disciplined, and resolved to

maintain a character for sobriety and public spirit. Sir Stafford Northcote's failure of strength—already, it is hoped, repaired by a brief period of rest—was a loss to his party. It was also a warning that statesmen of less adamantine frame than the Prime Minister cannot stand the high pressure and the prolonged duration of recent Parliaments. From this point of view men of all opinions may be satisfied if the hopes should be realised which the Ministry found upon the reform of Parliamentary procedure, almost the only political work, so far as England is concerned, of a session extending from the beginning of February to the beginning of December, and following two sessions of abnormal length, of excessive activity, and of singular barrenness in measures of general advantage to the community.

If, however, Parliament has done little for Great Britain during the year, it has again devoted by far the greater portion of its time to Irish affairs. The administrative energies of the Executive, moreover, have been fully as much absorbed by Ireland as by Egypt. At the opening of 1882 the effect of the Land Act was becoming visible, though only a small fraction of the cases entered for hearing, constituting in themselves only a small fraction of the total number of tenancies, had been decided. The landlords, however, were alarmed at the almost invariable reductions of rent, averaging from one-fifth to one-third of the previous rentals. The tenants, still believing in the policy of the "No-Rent" manifesto, held aloof in great numbers from the Courts, and agrarian crime continued to exact terrible penalties from landlords, agents, or officers of the law who dared to press for the payment of rent due. Mr. Parnell was in Kilmainham Gaol; the Protection Act was administered with resolution and courage by Mr. Forster; the harvest had been plentiful, and there was no distress.

Nevertheless, the situation was discouraging. Not only the landlords and other loyalists, but the very authors of the Land Act, were denounced throughout Ireland as cruel tyrants and irreconcilable enemies. The Land League, though suppressed by law, strove to make its power felt in various indirect ways, and the wavering of the farmers in their adherence to the "No-Rent" decree, as well as the recovery of rent or land by legal processes, were punished by outrages which remained long unpunished. Among the most horrible of these crimes was the mysterious murder of an old man and a lad in Lord Ardilaun's

employment, whose bodies were afterwards found sunk in Lough Mask. The darkness which shrouded this and other evil deeds was disquieting to the Government and to all loyal men. Mr. Forster steadily persevered in his efforts to break the power and defeat the aims of the Land League, with the conviction that success therein would cut at the root of organised crime. At the Cork Winter Assizes, with a restricted jury panel, some important convictions were obtained, on the testimony of an approver, which cleared up much of the mystery that covered the proceedings of "Captain Moonlight" and his murderous gangs; but generally the ordinary juries failed, either through terror or sympathy, to convict even upon the clearest evidence. That terrorism was at work in this as in other directions was shown by the murder of Mr. Herbert, a magistrate for Kerry, who had become obnoxious to the enemies of the law by his courageous firmness in the jury box. This crime was closely followed by the murder in Westmeath of Mrs. Smythe, who was shot in her brother-in-law's carriage on her way from church.

Public opinion in England was deeply moved by these events, but, as Judges pointed out on the Bench and Ministers in Parliament, by far the greater number of the victims were poor men, tenants suspected of paying rent, farm-servants daring to work for boycotted persons, or bailiffs and others venturing to serve notices of legal process. Some threatening attacks were made on the police, and actual or suspected informers were stabbed and shot in the streets of Dublin. The state of Ireland was incessantly discussed in Parliament, but down to the hour of Mr. Forster's resignation the Government made no sign of concession to the party of disorder.

A number of Radical politicians, especially those in whose constituencies the Irish vote was powerful, were zealous for the release of Mr. Parnell and the employment of the power of the Land League to restore tranquillity in Ireland. Mr. Forster stoutly resisted this policy, which found determined advocates in the Cabinet, and his resignation, with Lord Cowper's, first made known the Ministerial change of policy. The abandonment of the Protection Act was announced, Mr. Parnell, Mr. O'Kelly, and Mr. Dillon were released and appeared in the House of Commons, where Mr. Forster defended his own views, maintaining that the extraordinary powers entrusted to the Executive ought not

to be surrendered until at least alternative measures for grappling with crime were adopted, and that it would be better to struggle, even unsuccessfully, against crime than to rely for its repression upon the aid of its organisers. Subsequently the grounds of the understanding between the Government and the Land League party, which the Opposition nick-named the Kilmainham Treaty, were hotly discussed in Parliament. Mr. Gladstone affirmed that the Cabinet had acted upon "information" of Mr. Parnell's willingness to help the cause of order, which was contained, as it proved, in a letter to Mr. O'Shea. The promise was conditional upon the passing of an Arrears Bill and the abandonment of coercion ; but the course of subsequent events to a great extent deprived the arrangement of more than historic interest.

Lord Spencer's appointment as Viceroy, with Lord Frederick Cavendish as Chief Secretary, was too speedily followed by a terrible justification of Mr. Forster's warnings. In official circles there was an unbounded confidence in the conciliation and pacification of Irish feeling by the abandonment of coercion. Lord Spencer's reception at Dublin Castle was encouraging, but on the evening of that very day Lord Frederick Cavendish and the Under-Secretary, Mr. Burke, were assassinated in the Phœnix Park, within sight of the Viceregal Lodge. The murderers, dressed in American fashion and armed, as was conjectured, with bowie knives, escaped, nor down to the present hour, in spite of extraordinary efforts and immense rewards, have they been brought to justice. This atrocity made a profound impression upon English opinion, and even in Ireland there was a momentary recoil from the cause identified with such horrors. But it soon became clear that neither the agitators nor the masses in Ireland were able, if, indeed, they were willing, to put down crime, whether agrarian or political. A few weeks after the Phœnix Park tragedy two double murders were perpetrated in Connaught. A retired Anglo-Indian, Mr. Bourke, and a soldier escorting him, were shot from behind a loopholed wall, and in the same manner, three weeks later, Mr. Blake, Lord Clanricarde's agent, and his steward were killed. Attacks on policemen, on bailiffs, on deserters of the Land League policy, and especially on persons suspected of giving aid or information to the police, were not diminishing.

The Government had the support of all parties, except Mr. Parnell and his extreme followers, in passing the Prevention of Crimes Bill, the strongest measure of the kind ever introduced, with the exception of Lord Grey's Coercion Act. Mr. Trevelyan, who had succeeded to the Chief Secretaryship, laboured actively under Lord Spencer to reorganise the police force, and to make the application of the law swift and sure. The task was interrupted and complicated by difficulties with the Royal Irish Constabulary and with the Dublin Metropolitan Police, which more than once threatened to end in a formidable strike. The Executive, without refusing to meet reasonable demands, firmly upheld discipline, and the excitement rapidly died away. In the autumn the police, both in Dublin and in the provinces, displayed, under severe trials, a devotion and courage worthy of all praise.

The strenuous administration of the Crimes Act had immediate effect in the reduction of outrages, chiefly, however, as several of the Irish judges pointed out, of the less serious type. The massacre of the Joyce family at Maamtrasna, believed to be instigated by those who feared the disclosure of the Lough Mask murder, was tracked to its authors, and it was hoped that other agrarian crimes would, under the new arrangements for trial before special juries in Dublin and other large towns, be promptly and adequately punished. The power of trying prisoners without juries was held in reserve. Some important convictions were obtained before the Dublin Special Commission in August, but the effect was impaired by an attack made upon the jury and the Bench in one notable case, in a newspaper owned and edited by the High Sheriff, Mr. Gray, M.P. Mr. Justice Lawson at once committed Mr. Gray for contempt, and a Parliamentary controversy ensued, which was referred in the autumn session to a select committee. Mr. Gray had meanwhile been released, and the judge's exercise of authority, in spite of this unsuccessful challenge, protected the Courts against menaces disguised as criticism.

The operation of the law, nevertheless, was not left unimpeded. Important trials were coming on at the November Commission; the Maamtrasna and the Lough Mask murders were to be investigated, and, though these were undoubtedly agrarian crimes committed in the remote West, the inquiry alarmed the desperate confederacy which defied the police in

Dublin. Mr. Justice Lawson narrowly escaped the meditated attack of an armed assassin ; a small body of detectives employed in watching suspicious characters were set upon by armed men, and one was killed ; Mr. Field, a juror in one of the agrarian cases at the former Commission, was stabbed and left for dead before his own door. The Irish Government grappled at once with the evil ; the police were reinforced by patrols of Marines ; and the trials before special juries were proceeded with. In the Maamtrasna case, which revealed unknown depths of savagery, eight men were convicted, of whom three were executed. Convictions were also obtained, though not without a second trial, in the Lough Mask case.

While this struggle with Irish crime was going on Mr. Gladstone continued to predict that his remedial measures would strike at the root of the evil. It is difficult as yet to determine whether the Land Act has won over many of the peasantry to the cause of order. The Land Commission has been at work since November 1881, but at first it was greatly undermanned, and its apparent effects have been obscured by the introduction of the Arrears Act, which was intended to bring within the Land Act indebted tenants otherwise unable to apply under the fair rent clauses. The extent to which this relief was required proved to be much overrated, and the arguments on both sides, when the Bill was before Parliament, look now somewhat out of proportion to the results. But until the Arrears question was finally settled, which was not until the Prime Minister at the close of the autumn session declared that the Government could go no further, the normal relations between landlords and tenants could not be subjected to the decisions of the Courts. How rents, judicial or other, were to be paid, could not be determined until the irregular arrangements for the payment of arrears were concluded.

The Land League party, in spite of the Treaty of Kilmainham and the concessions of the Government, declared that the Imperial Parliament had failed to conciliate Ireland. Mr. Parnell and his immediate friends were, nevertheless, in favour of persevering in Parliamentary action, calculating upon the "squeezability" of English politicians. Mr. Davitt, followed by another section, was for more violent measures. At a conference held in Dublin in October these conflicting views almost led to an open rupture, but Mr. Parnell prevailed, and

his policy is now on its trial. The Land League and the Home Rule League have merged in the Irish National League which was established at the conference. There, also, the demands of the "popular party" in Ireland, from which were excluded not only Irish Liberals and Irish Conservatives, but moderate Home Rulers, such as Mr. Shaw, were thrown into a compact form.

Mr. Parnell stands pledged, as he avowed in his recent speeches at Cork, to force the Government to give effect to those demands, to enlarge the scope of the Land Act, and to establish centres of Nationalist strength in county boards, controlling local taxation, electing magistrates and sheriffs, managing the police and electing the members of the administrative bodies concerned with education, the poor law, and public works. The disturbance of the agrarian settlement adopted by Parliament in the Land Act has been protested against by Lord Derby, just before his entrance into the Cabinet, and by Mr. Forster. Distress, unhappily, prevails in many parts of Ireland, where the cottier tenants have received no benefit—as, indeed, it was impossible they should—from the Land Act and the Arrears Act. The Government declined to sanction relief works, and desire to supplement the poor law by emigration. To this policy Mr. Parnell and his party are opposed, contending that the starving cottiers of Connaught ought rather to be settled, at the cost of the State, on the rich lands now devoted to stock breeding with a success visible in no other branch of Irish farming.

In Egypt, at the beginning of the year, the Khedive was pressed by the growing pretensions of the Council of Notables, and Arabi's restoration to the War Department seemed to portend the complete triumph of the National party. England and France—the latter under the rule of M. Gambetta, whose power had been apparently confirmed by the Senatorial elections—presented a Joint Note, declaring the maintenance of the Khedive's authority "the only possible guarantee" for order, and expressing their hope of preventing dangers which, should they arise, "would certainly find England and France united to face them." The Porte protested, and in Germany, Austria, Italy, and Russia there were signs of impatience and jealousy, which encouraged the Notables to attack the Control and European influence in Egypt. Arabi and the army had, in fact, a monopoly of power; the Khedive was forced to accept a

National Ministry, and the Organic Law, adopted in defiance of the protests of the Controllers, placed the Budget in the hands of the Notables, thus subverting the authority of England and France embodied in the Control. M. Gambetta's downfall and the minimising and dilatory policy of M. de Freycinet, with the belief that England would not intervene alone, spurred Arabi, now substantially Dictator and supported almost undisguisedly by the Sultan, to more daring measures. A quarrel with the Khedive and a pretext for the ejection of the Europeans were sought, but the military party overshot their mark. Tewfik Pasha refused to sanction the execution of some Circassian officers condemned for alleged conspiracy against Arabi. The Notables drew back from opposing the Khedive at the bidding of the soldiery. The Sultan saw his way to seizing the crisis as a pretext for action on his own behalf.

Throughout Europe it began to be understood that the defeat of the Western Powers in Egypt would mean the ruin of civilisation and all European interests. Finally, the urgency of the case brought England and France to an agreement that any disturbance of the *status quo* must be prevented. In pursuance of this policy, a British and a French squadron anchored in the harbour of Alexandria in the latter part of May. Meanwhile, a panic prevailed among the Europeans; the Khedive, hoping to avoid a collision, recalled Arabi and his party to office; it was known that England and France were considering how the Sultan's suzerainty could be employed to put down the military dictatorship.

On the 25th of May the English and French Consuls-General presented an ultimatum to the Egyptian Ministers, demanding the temporary removal from the country of Arabi and two other leaders of the mutinous soldiery, and the resignation of the Ministry. The Khedive gladly assented to these terms, but the army and the Nationalists, not believing that the fleets would be allowed to fire a shot, and believing, with better reason, that the Sultan would not jeopardise his power as Caliph in a conflict for Christians against Moslems, were obstinate and threatening. The Ministers resigned, but the Khedive could find none to succeed them. His appeals to the Ulema, the Notables, the heads of departments, and the officers were met with insolent defiance. The army clamoured for the restoration of Arabi, and warned the trading classes that, unless the

Khedive yielded, life and property would not be safe. The Khedive did yield, and quickened the flight of Europeans from Cairo to Alexandria, where hundreds crowded into the ships in the roads. Whether Arabi remained master of the situation or the Western Powers forcibly interfered, the danger appeared equally great.

But intervention of another kind was first essayed. The proposal for a Conference at Constantinople had not yet been accepted by all the great Powers, and the Porte had taken the initiative alone. Dervish Pasha was sent to Cairo on a special mission, and was welcomed there avowedly as representing the cause of Islam. His policy was, it appeared, to reduce the Khedive to impotence, and, either through Arabi or by supplanting him, to get control over the Egyptian army. His schemes were interrupted on the 11th of June by the explosion for which the military conspirators had laid the train. A street brawl in Alexandria between a Maltese and an Arab gave the signal for a Mussulman rising, undoubtedly preconcerted, in which the rioters assaulted, wounded, and killed a great number of Europeans and pillaged their houses. The British Consul, Mr. Cookson, was seriously injured, and some officers and men of the British squadron were among the victims. With some exceptions the troops and police stood aloof till the mischief was done. Arabi did not interfere till he had convinced Dervish Pasha that Turkey was powerless to solve the difficulty. The Khedive and Dervish, accompanied by the European Consuls-General, hastened to Alexandria, leaving Arabi as autocrat at Cairo. The panic of the Europeans increased with the insolence of the Arabs. In vain the Khedive and his Ministers strove to allay the excitement by vague promises. Arabi's supremacy was recognised at the Porte by his elevation to the highest rank of the Medjidie ; he was openly preparing resistance at Alexandria and a raid on the Suez Canal.

International jealousies were for the moment hushed ; the Conference met ; a "self-denying protocol" was signed by all the Powers, and, in the absence of a formal mandate entrusted to the Western Powers, efforts were made to induce the Porte to act under strict limitations as mandatory of Europe. The Sultan's shifty delays prolonged the uncertainty. It was clear that France was unwilling to intervene, and the Egyptian rebels believed that England would not act without support. Arabi,

as Mr. Gladstone said in Parliament, had thrown off the mask, and was aiming at the deposition of the Khedive and the expulsion of the Europeans. England, however, had determined to act—if possible, with the authority of Europe, with the support of France and the co-operation of Turkey; but, if necessary, alone.

In view of probable action, Arabi's preparations for resistance at Alexandria could not be overlooked. In spite of broken pledges, and orders from the Khedive and the Sultan, Sir Beauchamp Seymour reported that the works on the forts were actively carried on, and on the 6th of July the Admiral demanded their instant cessation under penalty of bombardment. Protests by the Khedive and the foreign Consuls were outweighed by Arabi's practical defiance, and on the 10th Sir Beauchamp Seymour finally insisted on the surrender of the forts at the mouth of the harbour as a material guarantee. The Egyptian Ministers strove to negotiate, but the Admiral's resolution was fixed, and Arabi, confident in the strength of the forts, had no thought of yielding. In the early morning of the 11th eight British ironclads and five gunboats advanced to the attack. The Egyptian guns, of large calibre and modern construction, were well served; but in a few hours the forts were battered down or silenced, with slight loss on the British side and with trifling damage to the ships. Next day, as the bombardment was about to be renewed, negotiations were opened by the display of flags of truce, under cover of which the Egyptian forces evacuated the town, setting fire to the European quarter and letting loose upon it gangs of reckless plunderers. Fortunately a plan for the Khedive's murder was balked, and the British bluejackets and marines quickly restored order in the streets. In a few days a small body of British troops was landed under Sir Archibald Alison, who was, however, neither able nor authorised to strike a blow at Arabi's army.

The vigorous action of England in Egypt was in striking contrast with the retirement of the French squadron to Port Said before the bombardment, nor, in spite of the protests of M. Gambetta and his friends, was the French Government tempted to follow the English initiative. The majority of the chamber, shrinking from intervention, gave a hostile vote on M. de Freycinet's demand for funds to provide for the protection of

French interests in the Canal. England was thus left to act alone ; the Powers did not interfere ; the delays at the Porte as to entering the Conference and settling the terms of military co-operation left English policy practically unfettered. The despatch of an expeditionary force to secure British interests and to restore order was resolved upon with scarcely a show of opposition, though Mr. Bright, who had sanctioned the despatch of the fleet to Alexandria, left the Cabinet on the ground that further intervention was a breach of "the moral law."

Mr. Gladstone asked on the 24th of July for a vote of credit for £2,300,000, which he proposed to meet by an increase of the income-tax. The vote was passed, and consent to the employment of an Indian Contingent was also granted. The Prime Minister denied that Arabi was a national leader, and charged the ruin of Egypt upon "lawless military violence, aggravated by wanton and cruel crime." The War Office and the Admiralty prepared for the campaign with unusual energy and promptitude. It was impossible, however, to crush Arabi at once ; the insurgent army, encouraged by the delay, threatened Alexandria, the Khedive, and Sir A. Alison's force, cut off the supply of fresh water by the Mahmoudieh Canal, denounced Tewfik Pasha as a traitor, and involved the populace in guilt by abominable outrages on Europeans.

The Khedive at length proclaimed Arabi a rebel, and Lord Dufferin invited the Sultan to issue a similar proclamation before joining in the expedition. The procrastinations of the Porte tided the British Government over a difficult crisis. Diplomatic questions were still at issue when the reinforcements from England began to land at Alexandria, on the 10th of August. Admiral Hewett had occupied Suez, to be ready for the Indian contingent, a week earlier. Sir Garnet Wolseley, the commander of the expedition, arrived in Egypt on the 15th, a day or two before the Parliamentary adjournment, with Sir John Adye as Chief of the Staff and second in command ; and General Macpherson, with the Indian troops, appeared at the Red Sea port a few days later. The plan of operations arranged before the General and his staff left England was at first kept studiously secret. Under colour of a projected attack on the Aboukir forts, Sir Garnet Wolseley sailed from Alexandria with the main body of the army on the 19th, and within a few hours the entire course of the Canal was occupied, the British head-

quarters being fixed at Ismailia. The whole of the Indian Contingent was under arms a few days later at Suez ; but active operations from the new base, the Canal, were delayed through deficiency of transport and supplies. Arabi's forces were not idle ; they kept the garrison at Alexandria busy, and harassed the British on the Canal by cutting off the provision of fresh water.

M. de Lesseps, who had been in close relations with Arabi, protested loudly against the violation of the neutrality of the international waterway, but his complaints were backed by none of the Powers. Proposals, indeed, were made by Italy and accepted by the Powers that the Canal should be placed in charge of an international police. Events, however, outstripped this scheme as well as the hesitating movements of the Porte.

Sir Garnet Wolseley's plan of campaign was to advance on Cairo by the Freshwater Canal. Though supplies were short and the railway almost useless from lack of engines and rolling stock carried off by Arabi, it was thought necessary to push on. After the repulse of an attack on our advanced posts at Kassassin on the 28th, Arabi and his army retired on a strongly intrenched position at Tel-el-Kebir. For a fortnight the British General reserved his final blow ; even successful skirmishes were not followed up. At length, on the evening of the 12th of September, orders were issued for an assault on the Egyptian position. The troops, numbering under 14,000 men, with sixty guns, began to move before dawn, and had drawn close to the Tel-el-Kebir lines unnoticed before five o'clock. The instant the alarm was given the British soldiery charged, and after a few minutes' struggle the enemy's intrenchments were won. The Egyptian army fled in wild rout towards Cairo, outrun by Arabi himself.

No time was lost in pursuing the advantage of this complete and crushing victory. General Drury-Lowe advanced by a forced march on the capital, which was instantly surrendered by the Governor, and occupied peaceably by a mere handful of British troops. Arabi and his lieutenant, Toulba Pasha, gave themselves up, and Cairo welcomed the victors, as they rapidly arrived, with demonstrations of hostility to the rebels. Within a couple of weeks the last embers of the rebellion had died out ; strong positions at Kafr-dawar, Aboukir, and Damietta were successively surrendered, the insurgent army disbanded, and

only a few of the chiefs held in custody for trial. The Khedive returned in triumph from Alexandria to Cairo, where, on the 30th of September, the victorious British troops were paraded before him.

The battle of Tel-el-Kebir, involving a loss on the British side in killed and wounded of just 400 officers and men, ended the war. The rebels numbered nearly 30,000 men, but they did not fight with obstinacy, and their loss was under 1500 men. The success of Sir Garnet Wolseley and his gallant troops was generously recognised at home and abroad. Detraction and cynical criticism were hushed. Foreign opinion generally recognised the service rendered to civilisation. Even the Porte was forced to acquiesce in the logic of facts. The withdrawal of the English forces began immediately, though an army of occupation of 12,000 men, under Sir A. Alison, was left to restore order and to protect the Khedive. The total charge for the naval, military, and Indian services down to the close of the war was ascertained to be £4,600,000, but no special provision was made during the autumn session for the excess over the estimate of July. Rewards were freely bestowed on the returning victors ; peerages on the naval and military chiefs, knightly orders on the Generals and Admirals of Division and the diplomatic and consular agents, and medals in profusion upon the soldiery. The review before the Queen in St. James's Park was an occasion of national rejoicing.

But there remained causes of anxiety for the future. Neither the Opposition at home nor the Great Powers pressed the Government unduly for a disclosure of its policy in Egypt. Mr. Gladstone and other Ministers repudiated the notion of annexing that country, and declared that England was ready to withdraw from the supervision of Egyptian affairs when securities had been taken against renewed anarchy. The difficulty of maintaining this position, still more of accepting Mr. Courtney's policy of leaving the Egyptians to stew in their own juice, has become more apparent since the return of peace. England has been compelled repeatedly to interfere, with advice indistinguishable from commands. The restoration of the Dual Control has been forbidden ; the creation of an Egyptian army has been committed to Sir Evelyn Wood, while the gendarmerie has been placed under Baker Pasha.

The most remarkable instance of British intervention was

the rescue of Arabi from the Egyptian Courts. The rebel leader was given up to be tried by an Egyptian Court-Martial ; then a Special Commission was appointed to try him on charges of mutiny, treason, and violation of the laws of war. A strong feeling, however, grew up in England that our vanquished enemy should not be treated as an ordinary criminal ; English opinion prevailed ; the Khedive and his Ministers yielded reluctantly to the pressure of Lord Dufferin, who had left Constantinople to arrange the terms of the new settlement in Egypt. Arabi pleaded guilty on the least grave charges ; his sentence was commuted to banishment, and he and some of his fellow-prisoners are now on their way to Ceylon, there to be detained in English custody. Lord Derby's desire, expressed just before his acceptance of office, that we should leave Egypt the moment the Khedive can "stand alone" does not, in these circumstances, appear likely to be soon realised.

On the Continent the year, apart from the Egyptian complications, was not marked by any international events of exceptional importance. The domestic politics of France were largely influenced by foreign affairs. M. Gambetta's Ministry was overthrown in January, on the *scrutin de liste* proposal, by a majority in the Chamber of 305 to 110. Moderate men had been alarmed by the restlessness of Ministers, while the Radicals detested their "opportunism." M. de Freycinet was recalled to power, with M. Léon Say, M. Jules Ferry, M. Tirard, Admiral Jauréguiberry, and other men of experience and Parliamentary weight as his colleagues. M. Gambetta's friends and the Extreme Left proved equally powerless against M. de Freycinet in domestic affairs. Many "burning questions" were dealt with or discussed—the election of mayors, primary education, the Concordat, and divorce—the Ministry steering skilfully between extreme opinions. There was no suspicion that M. de Freycinet's Government was destined to fall through a too cautious evasion of national responsibility.

France, as we have seen, went hand in hand with England, though slowly and hesitatingly, down to the critical moment when it became necessary to support diplomacy by action. Then she drew back, as M. Gambetta pointed out, with fatal consequences to her authority and influence in Egypt. M. de Freycinet's modest proposals for safeguarding the Suez Canal were rejected by a majority of 416 to 75, combining

against him members in favour of energetic intervention as well as complete non-intervention.

After many difficulties, President Grévy succeeded in forming a "Ministry of affairs," under M. Duclerc, which has held its ground since in spite of popular discontent at the course of events in Egypt and the alarm caused by Socialist riots at Montceau-les-Mines. The revival of a spirit of intervention abroad—the reaction against the retreat in Egypt—has been shown by projects for asserting French influence with a high hand in Tonquin, Madagascar, and Equatorial Africa. As yet no irreparable steps have been taken in this direction, but the party in power believe they have much to gain and little to lose by this form of a spirited foreign policy "with limited liability." The Socialists and the Legitimists have been equally noisy and equally impotent. A recent accident to M. Gambetta has caused much anxiety to his friends, and the year closes with gloomy anticipations—not, we hope, to be realised—among those who still view M. Gambetta as the main hope of Republican France.

Prince Bismarck temporarily withdrew from active politics some time ago. The German Chancellor had met with more than one rebuff at home, though the Prussian elections in the autumn showed signs of Conservative reaction. In January a "royal rescript" addressed to the Landtag had asserted the independence and initiative of the Crown. Officials were warned to vote for and with the King's Ministers. Prince Bismarck was resolved to carry his measures of State Socialism and to affirm his alliance with the Clericals by the revision of the Falk Laws. The battle begun in the Prussian Parliament was continued in the Reichstag without decisive results. The Chancellor's Tobacco Monopoly Bill was rejected by a great majority, as was his scheme, introduced in the autumn, for a biennial budget.

But attention was drawn away more and more to foreign affairs. Germany, while abstaining from direct intervention in the East, carefully watched events in Egypt and Turkey. The smothered feud between Teuton and Slav threatened more than once to break out. General Skobeleff, not long before his death, attacked Germany in a speech at Paris to a Servian deputation, and revived the notions of a Franco-Russian alliance. Another scare troubled the German and Austrian Exchanges a couple of weeks ago, when rumours of Russia's warlike preparations on

her western and south-western frontiers elicited a "reminder" that the Austro-German alliance was a strict and enduring compact. Austrian policy has closely followed that of Germany; the two Powers have successfully laboured to prevent the re-opening of the Eastern Question. The English intervention in Egypt was tacitly favoured by the German and Austrian Governments, and the unjust criticisms of a part of the popular Press were drowned in the general chorus of congratulation which greeted Sir Garnet Wolseley's success.

Austria had troubles of her own in Dalmatia and Herzegovina, where an obstinate insurrection, aided by Panslavist propagandists in Montenegro, Servia, Russia, and Italy, was only overcome after months of fighting and the expenditure of a large sum, their share of which the Hungarian Delegation, jealous of the increase of Slav subjects, did not vote willingly. At Trieste the fanatics of *Italia Irredenta* thrice took advantage of the visits of the Emperor and his family to attempt murder by explosive bombs. These outrages, it is just to say, were condemned by public opinion in Italy, where the Irredentist agitation has been visibly losing ground.

The relations between the Vatican and the Italian Government have been severely strained, while the Republicans have assailed the throne with indecent and unscrupulous bitterness. The budget produced by Signor Magliani was the most satisfactory since the restoration of Italian unity, but it is doubtful whether the restlessness of the Italians, which has to be satisfied by large naval and military expenditure, will permit of a consistent economical policy. The excitement caused by the French occupation of Tunis was diverted to the Egyptian Expedition, which was nowhere more violently denounced. The Italian Government, though the mark for much censure, deserved and undeserved, obtained a good working majority at the autumn elections, the first taken under the extended suffrage and *scrutin de liste*. The character of the Parliament, however, has not, apparently, been improved.

Parliamentary government in Spain, as in Italy, is passing through a period of trial. Señor Sagasta's Government has been threatened by the Advanced Liberals, led by Marshal Serrano, and though the Cortes have refused to restore the Democratic Constitution of 1869, it is probable that the King and the country are willing to move further in a Liberal

direction. The surrender of three Cuban prisoners to the Spanish police by the authorities at Gibraltar was an inexcusable blunder, promptly condemned and punished by the Home Government. The controversy has not improved our relations with Spain. The conclusion of a satisfactory commercial treaty with that country seems to be as far off as ever.

Of the smaller European States there is little to record. Holland and Belgium, Switzerland and Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and even Portugal, have enjoyed peace and prosperity which their greater neighbours might envy. Servia has raised herself to the rank of a kingdom; Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia have been disturbed by political intrigues, which, fortunately, have not called for the interference of the great Powers. In Greece, M. Tricoupis has succeeded M. Coumoundouros as Prime Minister, and disturbances on the Thessalian border have extorted fresh concessions from Turkey.

The state of Russia has been disquieting, though the revolutionary forces have been controlled by extraordinary measures of repression. A State trial, in which twenty Nihilist prisoners were arraigned for complicity in the late Czar's murder and similar crimes, was followed by fresh outrages and fresh arrests. It was discovered that the conspirators had accomplices, some even of high rank, among the officials, civil and military. The Czar's dread of sharing his father's fate was not lessened by these disclosures. His retirement from public life still continues. The persecution of the Jews, somewhat checked by the indignant protests of the civilised world, is by no means at an end, and Russia from this cause has lost many thousands of her best citizens.

In foreign affairs Russia has shown unusual reserve, due, perhaps, to her internal anxieties. The Egyptian difficulties and the torpor of the Porte gave occasion for protests which were not allowed to pass into action. The Central Asian conquests were consolidated, though no step in advance was taken. The retrocession of a part of Kuldja to China, settled in the previous year, was accomplished. The Panslavist agitation, which brings Russia into repressed conflict with Germany, Austria, and Turkey, has been discouraged by the appointment of M. de Giers as Prince Gortchakoff's successor, by the dismissal of Count Ignatief, and by the censures passed on General Skobelev's harangues. It has been active, though with no

serious consequences, in Turkey and the border lands, checked, however, by the influence of Germany at the Porte. Questions arising out of the war indemnity threatened to embroil Turkey and Russia, but they were settled after a series of palace intrigues and Ministerial changes. The policy of the Sultan on this and other points was vacillating and feeble. In Egypt its mischiefs were outweighed by the fact that it fortunately left England free. Abdul Hamid, in his recent abrupt and inexplicable changes of Ministry, has been manifestly governed by the fear of arousing Moslem fanaticism against him. He believes, if no one else does, in the revival of Islam, which has taken menacing shape in Tripoli, the Soudan, and Arabia.

Happily, it has been proved that this movement does not affect the Mussulmans of India. The Indian Contingent was sent to Egypt with the full approval of the co-religionists of Arabi. The Indian Empire has enjoyed unbroken peace. A British agent has been welcomed at Cabul. Beyond the North-West frontier there has arisen no serious cause for disquietude ; the provocations of the King of Burmah have been restrained by a late-learned prudence ; an impending revolution in Nepal has been averted. The Government of India has been able to give exclusive attention to internal affairs. The policy of decentralisation and local government has been extended in several parts of India. In Bengal its administrative success under Sir Ashley Eden has been vigorously followed up by Mr. Rivers Thompson. Lord Ripon's scheme, however, met with considerable criticism in Bombay, and the expediency of giving the natives *quasi*-representative institutions has been much questioned. A gratifying improvement in the finances was announced in Major Baring's budget, which removed the remaining import duties on cotton goods and reduced the salt-tax to a low and equal level.

Turning from India to the Colonies, we have again to chronicle tranquil and uneventful progress. South Africa is not yet free from the ground-swell left by former troubles, but even in the Transvaal and Zululand no grave dangers have appeared. The Boers have been in conflict with their native neighbours, and the resolution of the Home Government to restore Cetywayo in spite of protests from Natal may, when carried out, bring the Zulu King into collision with John Dunn and the other chiefs among whom the country was divided.

Basutoland is still in part unreconciled to the Cape Government, and the hesitating measures of the Scanlan Ministry have led to a breach with "Chinese Gordon," who had been selected for the task of restoring peace on the frontier. The colony, nevertheless, has prospered, though not, of course, to the same extent as colonies like those of Australia, untroubled by a "native question."

The Australian colonies have been encouraged by their abounding prosperity to borrow largely, mainly for the construction of railways and other public works, so that the assets, in addition to the unsold lands, are considerable. In Victoria, which still adheres to a Protectionist policy, Sir Bryan O'Loghlen's Ministry continues in power. In New South Wales, where free trade principles are in the ascendant, the Parkes-Robertson Cabinet has been defeated on an appeal to the constituencies in favour of the long-tried but, it is said, much-abused system of "free selection" of the public domain.

In New Zealand, where the land question is complicated by the claims of the Maories, the native difficulty has almost disappeared since the arrest of Te Whiti. The frequent political changes are of little interest outside the colony, which goes on borrowing and making railways with unabated confidence.

The Canadian Dominion presents scarcely one point of resemblance to the colonies of the south. Its policy is influenced by the great neighbouring Republic, both in the way of attraction and of repulsion. Sir John Macdonald's Ministry appealed this year to the constituencies on the Protection question, when the free-trade Opposition were beaten by nearly two to one. An important section of the Canadian Pacific Railway has been completed, and the work of welding together the different sections of the Dominion has at length been fairly taken in hand.

The quietude of Canada has been promoted by the absence of political excitement in the United States. President Arthur's Administration having fallen, as had been anticipated, under the control of the "stalwart" wing of the Republican party, a schism became inevitable. The "reformers" and "independents" protested against the power placed in the hands of "machine politicians," though for the time in vain. An attempt to stir up American sentiment against England, on the ground of the arrests and detention of Irish-Americans under

Mr. Forster's warrants, culminated in the denunciation of Mr. Lowell as a traitor to his country's traditions. This mischievous folly was checked by the Phoenix Park tragedy. The President vetoed a Bill prohibiting Chinese immigration, but afterwards allowed another to pass limited to a period of ten years. Mormonism was also struck at by Congress, though as yet without visible results.

In spite of a prolonged and disastrous strike in the iron and steel trade, the United States have prospered exceedingly in commerce and industry, and the Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report was able to show that an unprecedented reduction of the public debt had been achieved. It is now proposed by the President and his Ministers to put a drag on this reduction, lest the protective system should be imperilled. It is not probable, however, that the tariff will be left unchanged. Even the Protectionists on the Tariff Commission recognise the necessity of making large concessions in order to save something. To this point they have been brought by the unexpected issue of the "Fall Elections." The Republicans, divided and discontented, are now vastly outnumbered by the Democrats in the House of Representatives, and retain only a bare majority in the Senate. President Arthur's Administration has hopelessly lost credit and authority in the country, and the Democratic party, in the main a free-trade party, are confident that they will succeed in obtaining the control of the Executive two years hence.

Among non-political events, unnoticed elsewhere, the use of electricity for illumination has been furthered by the exhibitions at the Crystal Palace and at Munich, as well as by the successful experiments in street-lighting in London and other towns.

In the literary world much interest was caused by the sales of the Hamilton and the Sunderland Libraries by their ducal owners. Though many entertaining and instructive books have been published during the year, none of them can be described as epoch-making, and the same thing may be said of the fine arts in England.

Among many remarkable trials at home and abroad, the most remarkable was the case of "*Belt v. Lawes*," lasting forty-three days and ending in a verdict for the plaintiff with £5000 damages. The convictions of Lamson for the murder of his brother-in-law, and of Mary Furneaux for personation and fraud,

attracted attention, but nothing like the trial of the Fenayrous for murder and of the managers of the Union Générale for fraud in France, or the prosecution of the Peltzers in Belgium and of officials charged with responsibility for the Ring Theatre fire at Vienna. The trial of Guiteau at Washington for the murder of General Garfield degenerated into an unseemly farce, to which the postponement of the convict's execution added a ghastly element.

An extraordinary number of destructive fires in this and other countries has been recorded during the past few weeks. The Alhambra Theatre was destroyed ; a mass of valuable warehouses near Wood Street were burned down, and Hampton Court Palace narrowly escaped the same fate. More than one country house rich in art treasures and historic associations was laid in ruins ; the co-operative stores in Dublin were burned out ; the business quarter of Kingston, in Jamaica, was consumed.

Among other miscellaneous topics of interest may be noticed the Channel Tunnel controversy, which for the present has been ended by the report of the military authorities adverse to the scheme ; the spread of temperance, especially through the "Blue Riband" movement, and the campaigns, attended by disturbances in many parts, of the Salvation Army. The election of the School Board for London, which took place in November, was remarkable for the absence of popular excitement and party bitterness. The policy of the former Board is likely to be, in the main, upheld for the next three years.

The year has been fatal to an unusual number of distinguished men. We have already noticed the tragic fate of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke. Archbishop Tait was a worthy representative of the moderation and the earnestness, the spirit of compromise and the wideness of view, which are the most characteristic marks of the Anglican communion and the ripest fruit of a rational and honourable union between Church and State. The late Primate, the appointment of whose successor, Dr. Benson, Bishop of Truro, has been announced, never gave up to party what was consecrated to a church embracing many parties. Of a very different type was Dr. Pusey, the chief—perhaps against his will—of a party and a movement, excelling Dr. Tait as much in force of character as in profundity of learning, but certainly not distinguished by the

same solid judgment. Another coeval of these, Dr. W. G. Ward, whose "Ideal of a Christian Church" was one of the turning-points of the Tractarian crisis, died, as he had lived for more than a generation, a devoted servant of the Church of Rome. At the opposite pole of religious thought stood Dr. Close, Dean of Carlisle, the most thorough-going of "Evangelicals." Dr. Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff, was widely known as a scholar, and enjoyed a high reputation throughout the Principality.

In the political world will be missed Mr. Bernal Osborne, the brightest and most incisive of Parliamentary satirists ; Sir George Grey, a Whig statesman of long experience ; Lord Harrowby, a moderate Conservative ; Lord Tenterden, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, cut off in middle life ; Mr. Mountague Bernard, a jurist, popularly known as one of the negotiators of the Washington Treaty ; and Sir Erskine Perry, of the Council of India. Sir John Holker, the most genial and popular of Tory lawyers, filled only for a brief space the office of Lord Justice of Appeal, to which he was raised by his political opponents.

Turning to literature, we have to record the death of Mr. Anthony Trollope, whose kindly and pleasant pictures of English society have delighted thousands incapable of appreciating the moral tragedy of George Eliot or the ironic mingling of laughter and tears in Thackeray. Mr. Harrison Ainsworth, a veteran in an almost forgotten school of novel-writing, and Mr. Rice, associated with Mr. Besant in admirable fictions of a new school, have passed away. Sir Henry Cole, the embodiment of South Kensington ; Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, the genial author of *Horæ Subsecivæ* ; and Denis Florence M'Carthy, an Irish poet, best known as the translator of Calderón, demand their places in the obituary of the year.

Art has lost the great names of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and John Linnell, of Hablot Knight Browne, familiar to two generations as "Phiz," and of Cecil Lawson. Science has suffered still more severely. In the "immortal bead-roll" of scientific glory there is no greater name since Newton's than that of Charles Darwin. The work of Darwin's life was well-nigh done when he was taken away in the ripeness of years, and when the clouds of controversial bitterness which long darkened his reputation had been dispersed. Francis Balfour, a young man,

whose promise and performance at the age of thirty justified the hopes of his friends that his name might be one day ranked with Darwin's, lost his life in an unfortunate Alpine ascent. Sir C. Wyville Thompson, who will be remembered in connection with the *Challenger* Expedition, and Mr. Scott Russell, the illustrious engineer and shipbuilder, are also gone. Professor Cliffe Leslie, Professor Jevons, and Mr. Newmarch, representatives of very different types and schools of thought, have been lost to political economy.

In medicine, three men of eminence in a former generation—Sir Robert Christison, Sir James Alderson, and Sir Thomas Watson—have passed away. Professor Palmer, an accomplished Orientalist, sacrificed his life in a patriotic effort to do service to his country by securing the aid or neutrality of the Bedouins on the Red Sea coast during the Egyptian campaign. With him perished Captain Gill, one of the most enterprising of Asiatic explorers, and Lieutenant Charrington.

In France have been recorded the deaths of Maître Lachaud, the eminent criminal lawyer, of General de Cissey and General Ducrot, of the economist Le Play, and of Louis Blanc, the ablest literary advocate of Socialism, long a resident in England; in Germany, of the novelist Auerbach, the physiologist Schwann, and the historian Pauli; in Spain, of the Carlist chief Dorregaray; in Russia, of General Kaufmann, the conqueror and organiser of Turkestan, and of General Skobeleff, the popular hero of the campaign against Turkey.

Italy has to mourn a greater name, though for years past Garibaldi had ceased to be more than *nominis umbra*. His task as the knight-errant of Italian unity and freedom had been accomplished, and the practical results did not realise the ideal shaped in his imagination and his heart by the teachings of Mazzini. Another Italian patriot, though very unlike Garibaldi, Signor Lanza, formerly Prime Minister and one of those Piedmontese who laboured to engraft the robust political quality of Cavour's country upon the laxer growths of South Italian character, died early in the year.

The United States have lost two of the greatest names in the literature of America—Longfellow, perhaps the most popular of modern poets, and Emerson, the most original thinker the New World has yet produced. Mr. R. H. Dana, the author of that charming book *Two Years before the Mast*, who achieved a high

reputation in later life as an authority on international law, had not reached the patriarchal age of Longfellow and Emerson; but even the years of the latter were surpassed by the veteran wire-puller Thurlow Weed, a potent though inconspicuous actor in American politics during more than half a century.

## 1883

THE year 1883, though it will not be remembered for any political events of the first order of importance, leaves behind it a record of diversified interest. Uneasiness and anxiety are not wanting, but there are also consoling and hopeful elements to be taken into account. At home, party spirit has not mastered the common sense and moderation of the country. Mr. Gladstone's Government, so far as can be discovered, retains a large part, if not the whole, of the popularity with which it began its career nearly four years ago. The Opposition have obviously not obtained such a hold upon the confidence of the electors as would enable them to challenge a contest with any assured hope of forming, in the event of success, a strong Administration. At the same time there are sufficient indications of the prevalence of Conservative opinions among all classes to discourage rash adventures into the region of organic change. The efforts to restore the authority of the law in Ireland have been generally successful, though there are as yet few, if any, signs that the boons liberally bestowed by Parliament on the tenantry have rallied the Celtic masses to the cause of order and loyalty.

On the Continent the attitude of the great military States is so far in favour of the maintenance of peace on the basis of the *status quo* that all appear to have realised the tremendous risks of a war, for which, nevertheless, they are incessantly sharpening their weapons. France, impatient at her enforced impotence in Europe, has sought for compensation in a policy of restlessness and aggression in lands where, though she is freed from the danger of conflict with Germany, she is in contact with the ubiquitous commercial activity and the widely ramifying

political interests of the British Empire. We are more fortunate in Egypt, in spite of recent complications, since the task we have there taken in hand is recognised by common consent as one which England only can adequately carry out. The problems presented for the time being by our Colonial and Indian policy are not without difficulties of their own, but they are such as must always be looked for in the large and complex business of Imperial government. The revenue has not answered to the high hopes which were formed when, two or three years ago, it was believed that the country was about to enter on a period of prosperity. There has been no positive decline, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as non-official critics, has pointed out a want of elasticity in the main sources of the national income.

It is probable that the calculations of the Budget introduced in April last will be borne out by the receipts during the remainder of the financial year, but the state of trade and industry is not such as to lead us to look for a rapid and startling change for the better. The fitful and trying vicissitudes of the climate of these islands have once more blighted the prospects of the agricultural classes, after encouraging the hope that at last the rancour of fortune had worn itself out. A wet and stormy winter was followed by a spring which, though scourged by bitter east winds, allowed the soil to dry and get freed from weeds. There was a short spell of very fine weather in May and June, but July, the most critical month for the harvest, was for the most part cold and damp; and though there was a decided improvement afterwards, it came too late to make the wheat crop more than an average one. The hay suffered at first from drought and subsequently from excessive rain; the hops and the fruit crops, which were most promising almost to the end of the summer, were disastrously beaten about by the storms of August and September. On the whole, the harvest, though far above the level of the melancholy years 1879-80, was scarcely as satisfactory as in 1882. The farming interest, too, suffered severely by the repeated outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease during the summer and autumn, which were the more felt because the increase of live stock shown by the agricultural returns proved that there had been a disposition to substitute the breeding of cattle and sheep for unremunerative forms of tillage. How far this tendency

will be checked by the recent ravages of cattle disease it is difficult to say.

Meanwhile, the depression of agriculture, which is still our most important industry, continues to affect every branch of our home trade and, indirectly, to interfere with the growth of the revenue. These losses have not been counterbalanced by any development of foreign commerce. Both in Europe and in America manufacturing enterprise is fostered by protective duties, which exclude or hamper British trade, and of which there is at present little prospect of obtaining the repeal, or even the mitigation. It is matter for congratulation in these circumstances that business of the "hand-to-mouth" sort is fairly maintained, and that strikes and lockouts, which have threatened a suspension of operations in several important departments of industry, have been in several cases averted, or at all events postponed.

The Ministerial changes at the close of last year, resulting from Mr. Gladstone's resignation of the Exchequer, an exchange of offices between Mr. Childers, Lord Kimberley, Lord Hartington, and Mr. Dodson, and the admission to the Cabinet of Lord Derby and Sir Charles Dilke, were completed at the beginning of January by some important, though inferior, appointments. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice became Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, and Mr. J. K. Cross at the India Office. Mr. Brand, the Speaker's son, was made Surveyor-General of the Ordnance. Some months later, on the resignation of Lord Rosebery, Mr. Hibbert was appointed Under-Secretary for the Home Department, and a place was found for Mr. George Russell as Secretary of the Local Government Board. But in its essential composition the Administration remained unchanged throughout the year.

It was expected that the Prime Minister would have addressed his constituents, as his leading colleagues had done, before the meeting of Parliament, which was fixed for the 15th of February; but, in deference to urgent medical advice, the Midlothian visit was postponed, and Mr. Gladstone went for a few weeks to Cannes, returning with renewed health and strength in time to face the toils of the session. Political feeling was not strongly moved out of doors by the movements and counter-movements of Parliamentary parties, and the unceasing efforts of politicians on both sides to damage their opponents by

platform attacks produced, apparently, little effect. The battle-ground of parties has, indeed, been to a great extent transferred from the Legislature to the constituencies, and the party leaders, as well as the rank and file, feel themselves called upon to defend their position and assail their enemies at public meetings, in the newspapers, and in periodical publications. An incessant fire is thus kept up out of doors as well as in Parliament, and popular attention is no longer fixed only upon the measures immediately prosecuted by the Government. The Prime Minister, in the midst of the labours of the session, encouraged his party in a powerful speech delivered at the opening of the National Liberal Club; Mr. Chamberlain, both before and afterwards, has boldly "carried the war into Africa," denouncing those "who toil not, neither do they spin," with special application to the peers and individually to Lord Salisbury.

On the other hand, the Conservative chiefs were not less energetic and aggressive. Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote, as well as others of less conspicuous and responsible position, seized every opportunity of placing their views before the country. It was probably deemed prudent to disperse by a striking manifestation of concord the rumours of rivalry and strife to which Lord Randolph Churchill had given colour by a letter published in the *Times* soon after Easter. Both on the Liberal and on the Conservative side the exigencies of party mastered any differences of opinion and personal jealousies. It was noted that this session was the first since the general election in which the Government had lost none of its members through a disagreement on matters of policy, for Lord Rosebery's resignation, avowedly to facilitate the Ministerial arrangements, was not to be compared with the successive losses of the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Forster, and Mr. Bright.

No sooner was Parliament prorogued than the flood-gates of platform oratory were opened wider than ever. Both parties seemed to feel that the next session would be a critical one. The Conservative Opposition assailed the whole policy of Ministers at home and abroad, denouncing especially the conduct of affairs in Ireland, Egypt, and South Africa. The Liberals believed they had a good defence to offer on all the points attacked, but a purely defensive position is always more or less a weak one in politics; and it was felt that the time had

come to lay aside secondary projects of legislation and to bring forward prominently measures which might be supposed to address themselves more powerfully to popular conviction and sentiment. The London Municipality Bill, which had been thrust aside during the session by the Corrupt Practices Bill and the Agricultural Holdings Bill, was not deemed strong enough for the main pillar of a policy leading, perhaps, to an obstinate Parliamentary conflict and an appeal to the constituencies. A conference of the representatives of Liberal organisations was held at Leeds, at which it was resolved, in spite of the objections urged by those interested in the abolition of the old Corporation of London and of the existing administrative authorities in the counties, to insist that the Government should give precedence next year to the promised measure of Parliamentary reform. The cry of "Franchise first" was generally taken up by Liberal politicians, and appeared to have the approval of Liberal gatherings. The advocates of the other measures were placated by the assurance that the session would not be devoted to the extension of the suffrage only.

The attitude of the Conservatives was one of "cautious observation," a policy commended to his friends subsequently by Sir Stafford Northcote, but not one calculated to produce a striking effect upon public opinion. Even the more energetic spokesmen of the Opposition, Lord Salisbury in England and Mr. Gibson in Scotland, contented themselves with suggesting difficulties and demanding that the whole of the Government scheme should be disclosed before a decisive judgment was demanded upon it from Parliament and the country.

At the Guildhall banquet on Lord Mayor's Day the Prime Minister ridiculed the precision of the current rumours with respect to the order and the character of coming legislation, but Mr. Chamberlain, speaking not long after at Bristol, left no doubt that the matter was practically settled. Declaring his personal preference for manhood suffrage, he insisted that the Liberal party was pledged, at the least, to the introduction of household suffrage in the counties throughout the whole of the United Kingdom, and that the work was too weighty and difficult to be postponed to any other. Redistribution, he contended, must be left to be dealt with in a later measure. Lord Hartington, in a speech delivered immediately afterwards at Manchester, was understood to throw some doubts on the points

which Mr. Chamberlain treated as uncontested. He pointed out that there were many practical difficulties to be surmounted which the Leeds Conference had not considered, that the inclusion of Ireland in the Bill would excite Liberal as well as Conservative resistance, that the abolition of the property qualifications in counties would be unpopular, and that the separation of the franchise question from that of redistribution might, as in 1866, endanger the whole scheme. From this hesitating attitude the Secretary for War apparently receded in a subsequent speech at Manchester. At all events, the advanced section of the Liberals did not alter their chosen line of policy, in which many politicians of the moderate school, such as Mr. Goschen and Mr. Forster, seemed not unwilling to follow them.

The Reform controversy, though it produced no popular excitement, was the chief political topic of domestic interest in the latter half of the year. At the beginning of the recess Mr. Gladstone, exhausted by the labours of the session, went, in company with Mr. Tennyson and others, for a cruise round the coast of Scotland, and thence to the Baltic, in one of Sir Donald Currie's steamers. At Copenhagen the Emperor and Empress of Russia, and the King of Greece, who, with the Princess of Wales and her children, formed part of the family circle at the Danish Court, visited the *Pembroke Castle*, and an interchange of complimentary speeches took place, on which some political gossips abroad and at home founded absurd conjectures of anti-German alliances. Little attention, however, was paid to these speculations, which the course of events as well as the reason of the case showed to be wholly unfounded.

While Sir Stafford Northcote undertook a political pilgrimage through Ulster and North Wales, Lord Salisbury denounced the policy of the Government, foreign and domestic, in an article published under the title of "Disintegration" in the *Quarterly Review*. A more practical and less indefinite issue was brought conspicuously forward by him in a paper "On the Housing of the Poor." The evils of overcrowding and of unwholesome dwellings had been pointed at, not for the first time, as a public scandal by religious and philanthropic workers among the poor, but Lord Salisbury's statement of the case commanded the attention of statesmen. The same tone of moderation and caution has not been observed throughout the

discussion. Mr. Chamberlain, in taking up the question, made it a text for an attack on the landowning classes on whom he proposed to throw the charge of removing insanitary dwellings and replacing them by good houses built under municipal direction. Lord Shaftesbury and others practically acquainted with the condition of the poor protested against this method of proceeding, not only as unjust, but as fatal to voluntary effort and the working out of natural remedies. The demand, however, was taken up by the advocates of municipal reform for London, who, accepting the fact that the existing law was strong enough if put in force, contended that the fault lay with the vestrymen, and that a change could only be hoped for by placing local administration in other hands. The more drastic remedies suggested for evils deplored by all were looked upon with the more alarm and suspicion by moderate men, inasmuch as during the year a Socialist propaganda, advocating the doctrines of "Land Nationalisation" developed in America by Mr. Henry George, had been active and noisy. At the same time the popular distrust of State interference has been much weakened, as was shown by the absence of opposition to the extension of official control and patronage under the Bankruptcy Act, and the confidence with which Mr. Chamberlain has put forward a scheme for getting rid of unseaworthy ships by limiting the right of shipowners and shippers to protect themselves by insurance against loss.

The bye-elections of the year afforded few opportunities of testing the movements of public opinion. In Ireland they went almost without exception in Mr. Parnell's favour. Whigs, advanced Liberals, and moderate Home Rulers had to give way to his candidates in the South. In Ulster the Orange revival generally aided the Conservatives. In Great Britain gains and losses were pretty evenly balanced. Liberal and Conservative seats were in most cases retained. The Rutland contest seemed to show that the farmers had not been won over by Liberal legislation. At Manchester a Radical and an advocate of Home Rule for Ireland was discomfited by the local organisation, and his Conservative opponent secured an easy victory. Later in the year the Opposition captured a Liberal seat at York and the Ministerialists a Conservative seat at Ipswich.

It was rumoured early in the year that Sir Henry Brand was unwilling to face the fatigues of another session in the

Speaker's chair, and the choice of his successor, for whom a Government with a large majority would, of course, be able to secure the nomination, was awaited with much interest. It became known that the offer had been made informally to Mr. Goschen, who declined it on the ground of his imperfect eyesight, and that the law officers of the Crown also would have been nominated if they had wished it. The choice of the Government fell finally upon Mr. Arthur Peel, M.P. for Warwick, the youngest son of the great statesman, who had filled some minor offices under Mr. Gladstone, and had even been appointed "Whip" in 1873, though he had never discharged the duties of that post. It has been reported that the Opposition will put forward a candidate against Mr. Peel, but the Ministerial majority is too great to render this at all probable.

Early in January the authority of the law in Ireland was powerfully vindicated in many different directions. Mr. Healy and Mr. Davitt, with one of their associates, were committed to prison by the Queen's Bench for contempt of Court, having refused to engage not to repeat language provocative of a breach of the peace. Mr. O'Brien, editor of *United Ireland*, was indicted for a libel charging Lord Spencer with having bribed juries to secure convictions for murder, but in this case a conviction was defeated by a disagreement of the jury. Mr. O'Brien, while his trial was pending, was elected M.P. for Mallow, obtaining a large majority over the Solicitor-General. Mr. Healy, who resigned his seat for Wexford at the beginning of his imprisonment, stood for Monaghan, where a Liberal vacancy had been created, soon after his release, and was returned by a sufficient number of votes over the Conservative candidate, leaving the Liberal with a mere handful at the bottom of the poll.

But these political developments were preceded by events of a more stirring sort. While the authors of the Lough Mask and the Castleisland murders were expiating their guilt with their lives, the detective police in Dublin, who had been brought to a high state of efficiency under Mr. Jenkinson, and who had got hold of a clue by means of the secret inquiries held under the Crimes Act, suddenly swooped down upon and captured a number of men suspected of complicity in criminal organisations. The examination before the magistrates at Kilmainham inculpated the prisoners not only in connection with the attempt on

Mr. Field's life, but with the Phœnix Park tragedy. Two or three informers were produced, whose revelations, especially in regard to a series of abortive attempts to murder Mr. Forster, were startling enough, but they were all thrown into the shade by the transfer from the dock to the witness-box of James Carey, the most important personage among the prisoners, a well-known Nationalist, a devout Roman Catholic, and a councillor of the City Corporation. Carey had been, as it proved, the centre of a murderous conspiracy, taking the name of "The Invincibles"; the Phœnix Park atrocity was planned and in a measure accomplished by him, the actual assassins being among the men in custody. Before the magistrates, and afterwards at the trial, Carey gave an elaborate and unrefuted account of the manner in which the scheme for the "removal" of Mr. Burke, the Under-Secretary, was carried out, affirming that Lord Frederick Cavendish was unknown to the murderers, and became a victim through his accidental presence on the scene. He identified Brady, Kelly, Curley, and others as concerned in the affair, and sufficient corroborative evidence was forthcoming to justify the Crown, ably represented by Mr. Murphy, Q.C., who was soon after raised to the Bench, in indicting several of the prisoners for the murder in the Phœnix Park, others for the attack on Mr. Field, and the remainder for conspiracy to murder.

The trials took place in April before Mr. Justice O'Brien, who displayed remarkable ability, firmness, and patience throughout, assisted, it must be said, by juries who did their duty with dignity and courage. Brady, Curley, and Fagan were convicted of murder, as was also Kelly, who nearly escaped, however, through repeated disagreements of the jury; Caffrey and Delaney pleaded guilty on the same charge, the latter, who had been serving a term of penal servitude for the attempt on Judge Lawson's life, protesting that he was driven by threats into these criminal courses, and confirming the truth of Carey's chief statements. Five of the prisoners suffered the extreme penalty of the law, and they have since been treated by the Nationalist party in America and in Ireland as martyrs. The storm of execration which burst upon Carey was due quite as much to the semi-political disclosures in his evidence as to the fact that he gave Brady and his comrades to the gallows. He let in the light on the nature and working of the organisa-

tions through which the terrorism of the preceding years had been enforced ; he showed how they were connected with the Land League through men like Sheridan, who had prompted "The Invincibles" to the murder of Mr. Forster, and who was, nevertheless, one of the agents recommended to the Government by Mr. Parnell at the time of the Kilmainham transaction as capable of "pacifying" the country. True Bills were found against Sheridan and two other persons who had been in close relations with Carey—Walsh and Tynan, the latter being identified with the mysterious figure "No. 1"—by the Dublin Grand Jury, but there was no chance of obtaining their extradition from the United States.

The Government for some time detained Carey and the other informers in safe custody, but arrangements were finally made for sending them as privately as possible abroad, which were unexpectedly obstructed by the reluctance of the Colonies to receive or be responsible for them. In Victoria the Government directly interfered to prevent the landing of a batch of informers. Carey was less fortunate. Sailing for South Africa, under an assumed name, he was shot at sea between the Cape and Natal by a fellow-passenger, who turned out to be an Irish-American named O'Donnell. This murder was hailed with a shout of savage joy in Ireland and the United States, and money was duly subscribed for O'Donnell's defence when he was placed on his trial at the Old Bailey. In spite of the brilliant and ingenious advocacy of Mr. Charles Russell—which has raised the curious question, as yet unsettled in principle, of the right of counsel to lay statements of fact before the jury on behalf of prisoners—there could be no doubt whatever of O'Donnell's guilt, and his conviction was promptly followed by his execution. The demand for a respite, preferred by the American Government in deference to the Irish vote, was courteously, but firmly, rejected.

The punishment of the Phœnix Park assassins, following that of the Maamtrasna, Lough Mask, and Castleisland murderers, tended to break up the remaining centres of local terrorism, and in the North, as well as in the South and West, some less important "murder conspiracies" were exposed and hunted down. The result was that towards the close of the year Mr. Trevelyan was able to announce a great diminution of outrage.

Spasmodic efforts had, however, been made to transfer the campaign to England. Early in the spring London was startled by the simultaneous attempts to blow up the Local Government Board buildings and the office of this journal. Other projects of the same wicked sort were detected or suspected elsewhere. At Birmingham the police, following up a slender clue with much patience and skill, discovered a secret manufactory of nitro-glycerine and evidence of the proprietor's communications with a number of men, chiefly Irish-Americans, arrested in London, Glasgow, and elsewhere, with explosives in their possession. Parliament meanwhile had passed the Explosives Bill with exemplary promptitude. On the trial Norman, one of the prisoners, appeared as an informer, and four of the others, convicted of having planned the destruction of several public buildings, of having brought over funds from America for the purpose, and of having explosives in readiness for use, were sentenced to penal servitude for life. A similar conspiracy at Glasgow was afterwards brought to light, and the criminals have recently been convicted and punished at Edinburgh. Alarm sprang up afresh a few months later, when an attempt was made with partial success to produce a destructive explosion at two points on the Metropolitan and District Railways about the same hour. Though a good deal of injury was done to a train near Praed Street, the design was on the whole baffled ; the authors have not been discovered, though no doubt remains that the means and the motives were the same as in the earlier outrages.

The formation of the "National League" in Ireland at the close of 1882 was followed up this year by attempts to extend the new organisation—the Land League, under a slight disguise—throughout the country. Meetings were convened for this purpose, at which the spokesmen of the Separatist party denounced the Government, and painted glowing pictures of the advantages, political and material, to be gained by "Home Rule." The authorities refrained from interference unless when there was reason to believe that these appeals to popular passion would lead to actual crime. In several cases where a renewal of outrages was feared, proclamations under the Crimes Act were issued, and later on, though after some hesitation, the Government decided on adopting the same course in Ulster, where the "Nationalist invasion" had roused the opposition of

the Orangemen. Mr. Healy's election in Monaghan encouraged his party to hope that Ulster might be won over, but the proposal to organise the National League in the North provoked, not only in Monaghan, but in Tyrone and Fermanagh, and in the towns of Derry and Newry, so violent a demonstration of hostility to the disloyal that at length the meetings on both sides were "proclaimed" in order to prevent danger to the public peace. While the tide of Orange feeling was rising high Sir Stafford Northcote paid a long-promised visit to Belfast. His speeches were in a reserved and tolerant tone, but he was, of course, unable to avoid recognising the manifestation of the loyal spirit, even when disfigured by obsolete and sectarian war-cries.

The Nationalists have now practically abandoned the hope of getting a footing in Ulster, and in their disappointment they have charged the Government with partiality towards the Tories and the Orangemen. The accusation is an absurd one, for the Orangemen are not less bitter against Lord Spencer and his advisers. Lord Rossmore's removal from the Commission of the Peace, on the ground that he had taken an active part in organising one of the Orange counter-demonstrations, did not satisfy the Nationalists, who have even refused to give evidence before the Commissioners sent to inquire into the Derry disturbances.

Mr. Parnell, who had maintained a perplexing reserve during the greater part of the year, was preparing to reveal his policy. It was thought that he might draw nearer to the Government on the common ground of the Franchise Bill, but his speech at the Dublin banquet on the 10th inst., when it was announced that a "national tribute" of £38,000 had been collected for him, showed that he was resolved to continue the struggle for "independence" by the old irreconcilable methods. The "tribute" had originated nominally as a protest against Mr. Forster's exposure of the Land League and its chief, but it was more energetically promoted as a counter-stroke to the condemnation of the League in the Pope's letter to the Irish bishops. Dr. Croke, Archbishop of Cashel, who had met with a rebuke from the Vatican for his activity on behalf of Mr. Parnell, continued to support the fund, and wherever the National League established its branches the "tribute" thrrove. The presentation was made the occasion for the delivery of speeches of

which the object was apparently to prove that neither the tolerance and the concessions of the British Government, nor the protests of the Vatican, would be permitted to deflect the party of the League in the smallest degree from the policy of spoliation and separation.

The disruption of the Republican party, which seemed to be imminent when M. Gambetta's death came upon France like a thunderbolt, was averted by the folly of Prince Napoleon. His manifesto, treating the Republic as moribund and demanding a *plébiscite*, closed up the Republican ranks. The feeble Cabinets of M. Duclerc and M. de Fallières were succeeded by that of M. Jules Ferry, who has shown plenty of force of character, and, in spite of many grave errors, has rallied to him a strong and steady majority in the Chambers. Of his policy at home or abroad it is impossible to speak with approval. The Bonapartist movement could scarcely be treated seriously, yet it was made an excuse for the introduction of penal measures directed not against Prince Napoleon and his son, but against the Orleans family. When the Senate refused to assent to this proscription, it was enforced by a Presidential decree, issued on the advice of Ministers, removing the Orleanist princes from the army.

Having paid this tribute to Republican prejudice, and at the same time tranquillised those who dreaded new political turmoil, M. Ferry felt himself strong enough to encounter the Radicals, led by M. Clémenceau, with a declaration against the revision of the Constitution. In this he was so decidedly backed by public opinion as well as by a Parliamentary majority that he was able to confront firmly the Socialist agitation which attempted to raise its head in the spring. Louise Michel and other instigators of some disquieting "bread riots" in Paris were prosecuted and punished, and the commemoration of the Commune on the 18th of March was kept sternly within bounds. Internally the Republican position was strengthened further in the autumn by the Comte de Chambord's death, for though the Comte de Paris was formally recognised as head of the Royalist party, the activity of the Legitimists was quenched.

The Ferry Ministry unfortunately conceived, at an early period, that they were called upon to indemnify the restless spirits of the country for enforced quiet at home by a policy of foreign adventure. It was not that M. Ferry was at all disposed

to revive the cry for the *Revanche* with which M. Gambetta had been popularly identified, but rather that he saw further opportunities for that "*Chauvinisme* with limited liability" of which the subjugation of Tunis was the outcome. A controversy with the Hova Government in Madagascar had arisen the year before, and in the spring Admiral Pierre's squadron was sent out to re-establish "French rights" over the north-west of the island. On the rejection by the Government of Queen Ranavalona of an ultimatum insisting on a cession of territory and a large indemnity, the Admiral bombarded and occupied the port of Tamatave. The stress of these measures was chiefly felt by the European residents, for the most part English merchants or missionaries. The Hovas at once retired into the interior, where the French appear to have been unable for months past to make any further impression upon them. The Queen died during these events, but her niece was quickly accepted as her successor, and French rumours of dissension and revolution among the Hovas have not hitherto proved to be well founded.

Much indignation was excited in this country by the news of Admiral Pierre's high-handed conduct at Tamatave, not only towards the Malagasy inhabitants, but towards the British Consul, towards the commander of Her Majesty's ship *Dryad*, and especially towards Mr. Shaw, an English missionary, who was arrested, on charges afterwards abandoned as baseless, and long detained in strict custody, not being even allowed to see his wife, on board a French ship. For this the French Government made an apology later on, and offered Mr. Shaw—who meanwhile had received the honours of a martyr at Exeter Hall—a pecuniary *solatium*. The British Government could scarcely refuse to accept this reparation, particularly as the behaviour of Admiral Pierre towards the Consul—of which Mr. Gladstone had spoken, upon the first reports, in strong language—turned out to be less objectionable than had been supposed. His treatment of Captain Johnstone, of the *Dryad*, who showed both spirit and dignity in very trying circumstances, was less capable of defence. But the death of the Admiral, on his return to France in the autumn, and the fact that he had been suffering throughout from a painful and enfeebling disease, justified the abandonment of any personal questions.

While France was thus attempting to extend what is mis-called her "colonial empire" in Madagascar, she had begun

another task of the same kind, but of still greater difficulty and uncertainty, in the "Far East." It is probably due to the progress of the dispute with China that operations in Madagascar have languished of late. The French claims to political and commercial influence over the kingdom of Annam have been the subject of a complicated diplomatic controversy, but the facts out of which the collision has actually arisen are simple enough. The Colonial Government of Cochin-China had grievances of long standing against the Annamese respecting the obstacles to trade in the northern province of Tonquin, where the "Black Flags," semi-piratical bands, as the French alleged, obstinately resisted a small force despatched under Commander Rivière.

M. Ferry's Cabinet resolved to prosecute the matter warmly, to insist upon the reduction of Annam to a position of dependency, and to obtain the mastery in Tonquin; but though the Chamber voted for the Minister's proposals, it is doubtful whether public opinion would have supported an adventurous policy—especially as China had already entered a grave protest—if the national pride had not been touched by the repulse of Rivière's expedition and the death of its brave leader. Reinforcements were at once despatched under Admiral Courbet, and in July the French were able to resume the offensive in Tonquin. After some successes they were forced by the flooding of the river-banks to retire. Meantime, Admiral Courbet advanced on Hué, the capital of Annam, deposing the King, the nephew of Tu Duc, the old enemy of the French, who had succeeded his uncle a month earlier. The anti-war party in Annam, encouraged by this turn of affairs, set up a King who was ready to agree to all the terms exacted by Dr. Harmand, the French Commissioner, placing the kingdom, including Tonquin, directly under the protectorate of France.

But while these military operations were going on diplomacy was weaving a tangled web. China had from the outset asserted her suzerainty over the Annamese dominions, and especially Tonquin. Negotiations had been opened with the Chinese Government by M. Bourée, M. Tricou, and M. Patenôtre, but without result. The scene was then shifted to Europe, where the Marquis Tseng defended the interests of his country with a patience and tact which won the admiration of trained diplomats. Mediation between France and China was spoken of

from time to time, but the pretensions of the rival Powers were in fact irreconcilable, and neither would go back. China declared throughout that she would neither recognise the Treaty of Hué nor consent to the occupation of Tonquin by France. The French demands were based upon an idea that China would yield when she found herself confronted by an inflexible policy, and M. Ferry, in spite of severe and just criticisms on the inconsistencies and unfairness of his treatment of the Chinese ambassador, carried the Chamber with him on what was nominally a vote of credit, but really one of confidence, early in December. The Senate showed itself still more decided, and the appeal of the Minister of War to the army was answered by a vast number of volunteers. In spite of the distinct intimation that Sontay and Bacninh, against which the French troops were advancing, were held by regular Chinese soldiers, and in spite of a dangerous movement at Hué, where the philo-French King was poisoned and the "National party" regained the ascendancy, Admiral Courbet pressed on, and after some sharp fighting captured Sontay on the 18th inst.

During these Oriental adventures the position of France in Europe was in many ways an uneasy one. Though it was officially stated on both sides that there was no cause of quarrel with Germany, much ill-feeling, suspicion, and recrimination found vent in the Press, and culminated in the scandalous treatment of King Alfonso in Paris. The German complaints of French malignity appeared to be fully justified when the King of Spain was singled out for insult, because he had accepted at Berlin an honorary colonelcy of an Uhlan regiment. The Ministry showed decided coolness towards the King, but the insolent violence of a mob, which hooted the royal visitor on his arrival and on calling on President Grévy, forced on them an ungracious and lame apology. The result was that Spain followed the example of Italy in connecting herself with the Austro-German Alliance, a fact which soon after was emphasised by the tour of the German Crown Prince through the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, taking in not only the Courts of King Alfonso and King Humbert, but the Vatican as well. It may be remarked further that France had, rightly or wrongly, aroused the jealousy of Portugal by her proceedings on the Congo and the Niger, and of Switzerland by a military demonstration in Savoy. Thus the isolation of France on the Conti-

nent was almost complete. The retirement of M. Challemel-Lacour from the French Foreign Office, where he was succeeded by M. Ferry himself, was rendered inevitable by an impracticable temper which nullified considerable abilities. During his tenure of office the breach with the Vatican as well as with Germany and her allies slowly but steadily widened, and the alienation of Roman Catholic feeling from the Republic was hardly compensated by the increased influence secured—unfairly as the Moderate party contended—in the removal of magistrates distrusted as attached to former *régimes*.

The errors of the French Government have crippled the Republican cause in the other Latin States. In Spain, during the greater part of the year, the Sagasta Ministry have retained office by the support of a coalition, a threatening Socialist movement in the south came to nothing, military risings, supposed to have originated in the ambitious designs of the exiled leader, Señor Zorrilla, were promptly repressed, and the King's popularity was augmented beyond all expectation by the discourteous folly of the Parisian mob. A Ministry under Señor Herrera, pledged to universal suffrage, may not be able to carry out that hazardous policy. Meanwhile, Spanish diplomacy has not only effected a *rapprochement* with Germany, but has laid the foundation of a commercial agreement with England, advantageous, it may be hoped, to both parties.

In Italy "a conformity of diplomatic action" with Germany and Austria was announced, the extravagances of the Irredentists has been disavowed, and a Ministerial reconstruction has separated Signor Depretis from his more advanced colleagues and drawn him into an alliance with the Constitutional politicians of the Right. The Left would be aggressive if it dared, but the position of the Government has been not only strengthened by the improvement in the finances and by diplomatic success, but by the factious schisms and quarrels of the Opposition. There is no change to be noted in the attitude of the Vatican towards the Italian Monarchy, though towards other Powers Leo XIII. has been eminently conciliatory.

The Pope's desire to employ the influence of the Church in repressing revolutionary tendencies has been proved by his intervention in Ireland to deter the clergy from giving active aid to the Land League party. Mr. Errington's functions at Rome remain still undefined, but through him and others the

Pope is now kept informed of the real state of Irish affairs. This disposition has naturally smoothed the way for a reconciliation with Germany, on which the seal was believed—perhaps prematurely—to be set by the visit of the Crown Prince.

Prince Bismarck had already taken a decisive step towards the resumption of friendly relations with Rome by carrying in the Prussian Landtag a measure repealing the famous "Falk Laws," and though no actual working compromise has been agreed on, it is plain that the Chancellor's wish is to govern henceforward not in spite of, but with the help of the Vatican. His tendency is to rely more and more in the Imperial Parliament upon the Centres, of whom the clericals form an important section, against the Socialists, the Advanced Liberals, and the Separatist factions. The Reichstag have complied, though somewhat sulkily, with the Emperor's urgent request to vote the Estimates for two years, but have thrown over more than one of Prince Bismarck's favourite measures. The foreign policy of the Government has been vigilant, but not restless. A better understanding with Russia has prevailed since the visits paid by M. de Giers, Prince Gortchakoff's successor, to Berlin, Vienna, and Rome early in the year.

Austria has needed all the support that Germany could give her, as well as relief from Russian pressure, to enable her to cope with grave internal troubles. Scandals showing the existence of much political corruption, Socialist conspiracies and prosecutions, street riots and strikes, disquieted the Cisleithan kingdoms, while in Hungary the ill-feeling against the Jews, a source of social trouble, culminated during the trial of the Tisza-Esslar murder case. The charges against the Jews of having sacrificed a Christian girl at Passover in the previous year were proved to be of the flimsiest kind, depending almost wholly on the evidence of the son of one of the prisoners, who, partly by threats and partly by promises, was induced to swear to a monstrous story. The whole case broke down on the trial, but the populace throughout the country, and even in Russia, were furious at the escape of the Jews. A still more serious cause of disturbance in the Transleithan kingdom arose out of the hostility of the Croatians to Magyar rule. The extension of Hungarian authority was openly resisted, martial law had to be proclaimed, and riots put down by military force. The

Ban's resignation showed the sympathy in high places with the Slavonic claims, and even at Pesth the necessity for concessions has been recognised.

At Vienna, and, indeed, at Berlin also, the importance of seeking a counterpoise for Russian influence in the Balkan peninsula was clearly seen. Close relations have been established with the Servian kingdom, and King Milan's visit to Austria and Germany in the autumn was generally regarded as significant. A successful attempt to emancipate the Orthodox Church in Servia from Russian control had alienated King Milan and his subjects from their former protectors, and Servian suspicion had been whetted by the marriage of a claimant to the Servian throne with a daughter of the Prince of Montenegro. The latter State has been conspicuously patronised by Russia and specially favoured by the Porte, its hereditary foe, in the suppression of the Albanian insurrection.

Russia was the more tempted to lean on Montenegro since in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia her power was on the wane. In the latter province, as well as in Prince Alexander's dominions, the interference of the Russian officials was bitterly resented, but in both countries the quarrel was outwardly composed, though Bulgaria has got rid of the Russian members of the Cabinet. Roumania has shown jealousy of Austria and disappointment at her exclusion from the Danubian Conference held in London early in the year. The relations of the Balkan States might have been more seriously troubled by the efforts to bring about a revolution in Servia in the autumn, but after King Milan's display of vigour in dealing with impracticable factions, the energy, tempered by clemency, of his measures directed against an abortive rising merited and secured success. The foreign policy of Russia, however, was less active than in former years, which was greatly due to the domestic difficulties of the Government, and in part to the reticulated restraints of German diplomacy. Nihilist arrests and prosecutions were reported from time to time; but social terrors were visibly abating. On New Year's Day it was announced that the long-delayed coronation of the Emperor and Empress would be performed at Moscow in May. A splendid national and international ceremonial was organised, with extraordinary precautions against outrage, and was successfully carried through. The splendour of the scene was, perhaps, unequalled; every

important State in the civilised world, every province and town of the Empire of the Czars, was represented in the brilliant gathering "before the sacred relics of the Kremlin," and for the populace there was a carnival of mediaeval magnificence and lavishness.

Though no warning signs broke the monotony of congratulations, few could forget the events that had gone before, and many regretted that the opportunity had not been seized for making advances towards constitutionalism and neutralising revolutionary ideas. The Scandinavian kingdoms are less connected than they once were with Russia, and their difficulties are unlike hers. In Denmark a chronic struggle between the throne and the Parliamentary Radicals has become acute. A far more formidable question of the same kind has arisen in Norway, where the Ministers have been not only censured but impeached and imprisoned, and the King personally denounced. Sweden, however, remains loyal, tranquil, and prosperous. The same may be said of Holland, the wealth and progress of which were strikingly illustrated at the Amsterdam Exhibition. It is, nevertheless, remarkable that in all these countries, as well as in Belgium, some anxiety was inspired by Socialist demonstrations and organisations, which, however, came to nothing.

Apart from Egyptian affairs, the Turkish Empire has not come prominently before the world during the past twelve months. The Sultan's peculiarities of character have been an obstacle to progress, and no confidence is felt in the stability of any Ministry or policy dependent on his will. He has been gravely disquieted by the rumours of religious revolutions in the Mussulman world, and especially by the success of the Mahdi in the Soudan, but he is not more inclined to remove the grievances of his Christian subjects. The agitation in Armenia has not subsided, and no attempt has been made to carry out the long-promised reforms. We owe, however, this much to Turkey, that she has not attempted to complicate the problem in Egypt by interference as suzerain.

The attitude of the European Powers towards the English occupation of Egypt was at the opening of the year one of acquiescence tempered by expectancy. Arabi and his associates had just been deported to Ceylon and Lord Granville had announced that this country would not re-establish the Dual Control. The Egyptian Government having swept away the

Control, and in other respects created a *tabula rasa*, Lord Dufferin, assisted by a number of able Englishmen, proceeded to elaborate a scheme of administrative and social reforms, including the germs of a national representative system. These recommendations, set forth in a remarkable despatch laid before Parliament in the spring, were adopted without demur by the Khedive, and when, after a brief visit to England, the British ambassador returned to Constantinople, he left affairs at Cairo in an encouraging state.

It was apparently agreed on all hands that though Egypt was to be educated for self-government, it was impossible for the present to dispense with British predominance or to withdraw the British troops. The changes in administration, in the judiciary and the army, as well as the development of political institutions, must be necessarily slow. Sir Evelyn Wood had undertaken the organisation of the army and Baker Pasha that of the gendarmerie. Sir Auckland Colvin became "Financial Adviser" to the Khedive, to be replaced, a few months later, by Mr. Vincent. Sir E. Malet, the Consul-General, retired, and was succeeded, with increased powers and dignity, by Sir E. Baring, previously Financial Member of Council at Calcutta. The Bedouins who had murdered Professor Palmer and his companions were brought to justice in January, and somewhat later the authors of the Alexandria conflagrations were convicted and punished in spite of an outcry raised in Parliament by Lord Randolph Churchill.

The withdrawal of the British troops was loudly called for during the autumn by some advanced Liberals in this country, and at the Guildhall banquet on Lord Mayor's Day the Prime Minister announced that their number would be largely reduced. But before this order could be carried out an unexpected catastrophe in the Soudan enforced a reversal of policy. The reconquest of the Soudan from the "Mahdi," a pretended prophet or reformer of Islam, who during the troubles at Cairo had become supreme throughout the vast and vague regions south of Khartoum, was attempted in March, when Colonel Hicks, a retired Anglo-Indian officer, was despatched as chief of the staff, and with the Egyptian troops achieved, a few weeks later, a victory over the Mahdi's forces, which, however, was not decisive. Hicks Pasha subsequently became Commander-in-Chief, and in the autumn advanced again upon the centre of

the Mahdi's strength at Obeid. For weeks nothing was known of his movements, but at length the news reached Khartoum that the whole of the Egyptian army, with the General and the other European officers, had been surrounded and destroyed by the rebels. The consternation at Cairo was profound, for not long before some troops moving near Suakin, the post on the Red Sea through which intercourse with Khartoum was kept up, had suffered heavy loss, the British Consul, Captain Moncrieff, having fallen among others. The remnants of Hicks Pasha's force were, for the most part, drawn together in Khartoum by another English officer, though some outlying posts were left to themselves. It was doubted whether Khartoum could hold out, and the difficulty was increased by the folly of the Governor of Suakin, who sacrificed some hundreds of his best soldiers in a mismanaged sortie.

The British Government, which had at once countermanded the withdrawal of the troops from Cairo, advised the Khedive not to attempt the re-conquest of the Soudan, but, having relieved the invested posts, to hold the Red Sea coast and the Nile Valley as far as Wady Halfa, to maintain the defensive. It was intimated that though neither British nor Indian soldiers would be sent out, a fleet would in case of need be ordered to Alexandria. The Khedive's Government, meanwhile, has despatched Baker Pasha to Suakin with a native force under strict orders to observe caution. The reports of the Mahdi's position are conflicting, but down to the present no important movement has been made on either side.

These stirring events have partially diverted attention from the Suez Canal controversy. The action of the British shipowners who protested against the exactions of the Canal Company early in the year resulted most unexpectedly in the provisional agreement which Parliament and public opinion so emphatically disapproved, and which the Government had to withdraw. In the autumn negotiations were privately renewed between M. de Lesseps and the shipowners, the Government holding aloof. The President of the Canal Company visited the chief commercial and shipping centres—Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle—and, finally, after a series of interviews in London, the bases of an agreement were arranged, which differed from that previously proposed by the Government in many important points. No public money was to be advanced, in lieu of the

£8,000,000 the Government had been ready to grant ; a second canal cut at the cost of the Company ; this country was to be represented on the governing council not only by the official directors, but by seven delegates of the shipowners, forming also a consultative body in London. At the same time, it was urged that the gravest objections to the Ministerial arrangement had not been removed. The administration of the old Canal was still to remain French, and that of the new one was to be French also. M. de Lesseps declared that during his lifetime and that of his son the Canal would never cease to be French. The claim of the Company to a monopoly was asserted as strongly as ever, and the demand that the shares held by the English Government should be given full voting power was rejected. On the other hand, the Egyptian Government have entered a protest beforehand against any alteration in the status of the Canal Company under the existing concession without the Khedive's assent.

The Government of India was favoured by many of the principal conditions of prosperity and peace. The finances were in a healthy state, and neither war nor famine threatened any unusual drain. Lord Ripon, however, involved himself early in the year in a conflict with the non-official European inhabitants of unprecedented bitterness. Mr. Ilbert, the Legal Member of Council, introduced a Bill, which came to bear his name, giving native magistrates up country, in contravention of the compromise settled in 1872, the power to try Europeans. The change, which was originally recommended as a modest administrative reform, was afterwards extended and put forward as a fulfilment of the promise of "equal rights" held out to natives by the Queen's Proclamation. The non-official Europeans, who since the development of tea-planting, railway construction, and other forms of private enterprise have become an important element, protested against the withdrawal of their acknowledged right to be tried by "their peers" in deference to a sentimental and theoretical claim affecting only a limited number of native civil servants and in defiance of the preponderant opinion of the Anglo-Indian official class. A powerful organisation was established in India to oppose the Ilbert Bill, and was supported at home by the vast majority of retired Indian officials. It turned out also, in spite of maladroit attempts to disguise the truth, that the opinions of the officers

consulted by the Government were by nearly four to one in favour of withdrawing the Bill, while of its nominal supporters all save a few recommended a compromise.

Unluckily, not only European but native feelings had been excited. Mr. Bright and other advanced Liberals, without taking the pains to master the details of the measure, advocated it on English platforms as "Justice to India," and the spokesmen of the Government, both in India and at home, declared that it would be prosecuted unflinchingly. The opposition of the Europeans did not abate, and, indeed, Lord Ripon has met at Calcutta with more signal marks of disfavour among his own countrymen than any Viceroy since the extinction of the Company. At Bristol, towards the close of the year, Lord Northbrook announced, in terms which were generally misconstrued, that a compromise would be proposed. The limitations suggested were not regarded as sufficient by the Anglo-Indian community, and finally, when the consideration of the measure had been adjourned till after Christmas, an understanding was entered into with the opponents of the measure, by which Europeans objecting to be tried by a native magistrate might demand a jury of whom the majority should be non-native. This arrangement entails some administrative inconveniences and practical anomalies, but it protects the Europeans against injustice and secures the Government such credit as may be given to the passing of the Bill thus altered. This controversy has overshadowed all other topics of Indian politics during the year. It is important, however, to note the Bengal Rent Bill, introduced to give the ryots "security of tenure," and generally to place them in the position of Irish tenants under the Act of 1870.

Among the Colonial dominions of the Crown, those in South Africa are still the cause of the greatest anxiety. The Cape Colony, after some experience of the difficulties of an ambitious policy, has prevailed on the Imperial Government to resume the administration of Basutoland. Natal has been disquieted by the results of Cetywayo's restoration in Zululand. Against this measure the Zulus rose under Usibepu, defeating and driving out their former King, who took refuge with the British Resident in the "Reserve." The future of the Zulus is wrapt in doubt, and the position of the Natal colonists is in the meantime an anxious one. The situation is not more assured in the

Transvaal, where the Boers are in conflict with the Bechuanas on the west and the Swazis on the east. The native difficulty is probably at the root of the active measures which the Boers are now taking to procure the revision, or rather the abrogation, of the Convention of Pretoria. The attempts of the Transvaal Boers to get the mastery over the Bechuanas and to secure not only the lands of the native tribes but the control of the trade routes from the Cape to the interior were warmly discussed in Parliament when the revision of the Convention was mooted. It was at first thought advisable to send out a Commission from this country, and Lord Reay, a Dutchman by birth, was selected ; but the Boers preferred to send their delegates here, and in the autumn President Kruger, with two others, laid the demands of the Government at Pretoria before the Colonial Office. It is understood that the Boers demand the restoration of their complete independence, as secured by the Sand River Conventions ; but Lord Derby's answer has not yet been made known.

In the Australasian Colonies we have to record the vigorous movement of active and intelligent communities. Victoria, which claims the undisputed hegemony of these youthful States, was happily freed at the opening of the year from chronic political troubles by the defeat of the O'Loghlen Ministry, and an "administrative" coalition between the Constitutionalists under Mr. Service and the Radicals under Mr. Berry. It was acknowledged that the old political issues were worn out, and that a larger policy would be welcomed on all hands. A similar spirit was found to prevail in the neighbouring Colonies, and Lord Normanby's reference to Australian Federation, in his speech to the Parliament at Melbourne in July, met with a hearty response. Queensland had already set the match to the train by the unauthorised annexation of a part of the coasts of New Guinea.

Colonial opinion had been much excited by rumours that France and Germany were about to assert claims to the sovereignty of New Guinea, the New Hebrides, and other islands not far distant from Australia, and in April the Queensland Government, as a measure of precaution, sent an officer to Port Moresby to declare New Guinea a part of the dominions of the Queen. The act was disavowed by the Colonial officials, but in reply to arguments strongly urged on him by delegates from all

the Colonies, Lord Derby pointed to confederation as a possible solution, especially with respect to New Guinea. The Colonies took him, rather unexpectedly, at his word. The germ of a federal convention had been already developed in negotiations for an intercolonial postal system, and public sentiment in all the Colonies was fully prepared to take a more decided step. A conference of the Governments of all the Australasian Colonies was convoked at Sydney, and adopted a series of resolutions of the highest importance, not only calling upon the mother country to annex New Guinea and the New Hebrides, but to forbid any further extensions of non-English power in the Pacific south of the Equator. At the same time the outlines of a loose system of federal organisation were sketched and submitted to the Imperial Government.

No such large questions have been raised in the Canadian Dominion, where the chief incident in the history of this year was the retirement of the Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, and the nomination of the Marquis of Lansdowne as his successor. The latter, a well-known Irish landlord, was violently denounced by some of the American-Irish agitators, but there was no response to their brutal appeals in Canada.

Politics in the United States have been unusually torpid, though there has lately been a revival of life as the Presidential contest of 1884 draws near. The tariff has been the principal topic before the country. Just at the close of the last session of Congress in March the Republican majority, knowing that the Democrats, who had won at the previous "Fall" elections, would command the next Congress, strained every nerve to carry a "revised" tariff, which, with some ostensible concessions, would really secure the protective system. The Democrats might have acquiesced in this arrangement if they had not suffered so much at the recent elections, when General Butler, among others, was so badly beaten in Massachusetts that they saw need for a new cry. In the choice of the Speaker of the House of Representatives the Democratic majority threw over Mr. Randall and the Pennsylvania Protectionists, and declared for tariff reform. On that issue it seems probable the next Presidential contest will be fought out. The foreign relations of the Union have been equally devoid of interest. The Irish-Americans, irritated by the punishment inflicted on their allies at home, have been unusually virulent, and the pressure of the

Irish vote has compelled President Arthur's Government to protest against the alleged "pauper emigration" from Connaught. The desire to mediate between Chili and Peru has once more been frustrated by the obstinate animosities of the combatants. The proposed pacification arranged between the Chilian Government and General Iglesias is still repudiated by a faction among the Peruvians.

The obituary of the year, though the list is of the average length, does not include, at home at all events, many names of the highest importance. Among English public men who have passed away may be mentioned the Duke of Marlborough, who was best known as Viceroy of Ireland under Lord Beaconsfield; Lord Overstone, the ablest and most influential of English capitalists and the highest authority for many years on financial questions; Sir George Jessel, Master of the Rolls, by universal admission the greatest judge who in modern times has sat upon the Bench in this country; Mr. Law, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who had a large share in the authorship and conduct through Parliament of the Land Act; Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, who will be remembered not more for his once famous book on the Pentateuch and the conflicts in which it involved the Church than for his warm-hearted, if somewhat wrong-headed championship of the native races of South Africa; two ex-judges of distinguished merit, Sir Richard Amphlett and Sir Charles Hall; and General Sir W. F. Williams, whose defence of Kars will live in history.

Science has lost Mr. Spottiswoode, the President of the Royal Society; Sir Edward Sabine, one of his predecessors; Sir William Siemens, the eminent electrician; and Professor Henry Smith, of Oxford, a profound mathematician, but also a man of the most brilliant social gifts and the most varied intellectual culture. English literature has suffered severely by the early death of Mr. J. R. Green, the historian.

Among other deaths may be mentioned those of Dr. William Chambers, of Edinburgh, the head of the well-known publishing firm, who had received the offer of a baronetcy almost on his dying bed; Dr. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law and friend, the patriarch of South African missionaries; Prince Batthyany, a distinguished patron of the Turf, who was suddenly struck down on the racecourse at Newmarket; Lord Justice Deasy of the Irish Appeal Court; Colonel Taylor,

M.P., for many years the "Whip" of the Conservative party in the House of Commons ; Sir William Knollys, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod ; Richard Doyle, an artist whose work, abounding in fancy and in humour, was scarcely appreciated by his contemporaries ; Dr. Begg, one of the leaders of the Free Kirk of Scotland ; Captain Mayne Reid, a favourite author with two generations of schoolboys ; Captain Webb, the champion swimmer, who was drowned in a mad attempt to cross the rapids below Niagara ; and Mr. John Brown, the faithful servant of the Royal Family.

France has lost several men of mark. M. Gambetta's death a few minutes before the close of the year 1882 completely transformed the political situation ; but perhaps even a more important change was produced in the political world by the death, some months later, of the Comte de Chambord. General Chanzy survived his party chief, M. Gambetta, only a few days. M. Henri Martin, an advanced Republican, but a historian distinguished for strength and sanity, was also lost to the Republic. M. Louis Veuillot, the most powerful and uncompromising of Clerical and Legitimist journalists, did not live to see the claims of the House of Bourbon merged in those of the House of Orleans. M. Lenormant's death has left a gap in the ranks of Oriental scholars. In art, M. Gustave Doré ; and in letters, M. Laboulaye, M. Halévy, and M. Jules Sandeau ; in science, M. Plateau ; and in society, the Comte de Lagrange, have left places vacant which it will not be easy to fill.

Germany has mourned for Richard Wagner, whose genius as a composer none will now deny, even though his claims to have called into existence the "music of the future" may be questioned ; for Flotow, a popular musician, but of far lower calibre ; and for the veteran scholar Dindorf. Karl Marx, who may be called the founder of modern Socialism, has also passed away.

Russia has lost not only Prince Gortchakoff, so long the impersonation of Muscovite foreign policy, but, at a much earlier age, Ivan Turguénieff, the most powerful imaginative writer whom Slavonic literature can boast.

The death of another novelist, Henri Conscience, who had achieved more than local distinction, has deprived the struggling language and literature of Flanders of one of its few celebrated names.

Italy and the whole musical world had to lament the death of the most famous of tenors, Mario.

In India, the loss of Sir Salar Jung, perhaps the ablest of Mussulman statesmen, has been deplored alike by natives and by Anglo-Indians. In Japan, Iwakura, an earnest advocate of progress and well known in Europe as a diplomatist, was prematurely cut off.

## 1884

THE year 1884 has been crowded with events, at home and abroad, which will fix upon its annals the attention of the future student of history. Domestic politics have passed through the crucible of agitation, and it would be rash to predict that their ruling tendencies will remain the same as heretofore when the results of the process become clearly visible. A vast addition has been sanctioned to the number of enfranchised citizens of the United Kingdom, a far-reaching redistribution of political power has been projected, a long stride has been taken—hopefully, it is true, and almost without a dissentient voice—in the direction of pure democratic government. At the same time every part of the fabric of the Empire has passed through the ordeal either of anxious experience or of exciting criticism.

In spite of the conventional language of confidence employed in royal speeches and official statements, clear-sighted men cannot refuse to see that our relations with the Great Powers of the Continent are not marked, to say the least, by an excess of cordiality, while we are brought into contact with those Powers upon controversial issues of policy all over the world. The revival of "the League of the Three Emperors," the *rapprochement* between France and Germany, the activity of the former Power in the far East and of the latter on the West Coast of Africa, the attitude of Europe towards the English occupation of Egypt, remind us that the functions of diplomacy as a branch of statesmanship have not ceased to exist. In these critical times it is not pleasant to learn that the navy, our first line of national defence, no longer secures for this country an indisputable supremacy on the seas, and that the deficiency cannot be made good without a large expenditure.

The public credit has been well maintained, though the Chancellor of the Exchequer's scheme for the conversion of the Three per Cents has not been particularly successful. But trade has been torpid, and in some branches suffering; agriculture remains still depressed, in spite of a genial winter, a sunny summer and autumn, and a moderately abundant harvest, countervailed, however, by low prices; and the elasticity of the revenue cannot be counted upon without risk.

In other departments of policy the causes of anxiety are less definite and measurable. The peace is preserved in Ireland under Lord Spencer's rule, but the violent language of the "popular party" on the platform and in the Press keeps alive the anti-English passion among the masses and perpetuates a state of feeling which, as we are warned from time to time, waits only for an opportunity to show its quality in outrage and treason. India, on the whole, is tranquil and prosperous, though the movements of Russia on the Afghan frontier have again begun to breed alarm, and attention has been seriously directed to the dangers involved in the maintenance of the armies of the native States. Colonial policy has its encouraging and its discouraging aspects. The political energy shown by the Australians in promoting measures of intercolonial union, and in asserting the rights of British colonists in the Southern Seas, must command admiration and sympathy in the mother country; but if misdirected it might easily prove a peril rather than a security to the Empire. The difficulties in South Africa and the financial embarrassments of the West Indies, which have led to an abortive scheme for a commercial union of the latter with Canada, have contributed to give prominence to colonial questions, and for the first time English public men have been induced to take gravely into consideration the problem how to embrace in some form of federal system the widely-scattered dominions of the Crown.

With all these preoccupations of policy, our statesmen have not been free from the cares of war. The operations in the Eastern Soudan under Sir Gerald Graham, the expedition to Bechuanaland under Sir Charles Warren, and, above all, Lord Wolseley's campaign for the relief of Khartoum, have subjected our military organisation to a severe strain, but hitherto with no unsatisfactory results. In Europe the new system of alliances, or rather of political intimacies, is, for the present at least, a

guarantee of peace. France, Germany, and Russia have ostentatiously put aside their former jealousies and are busying themselves conspicuously with external and independent objects. If it had not been for the alarm produced by the outbreak of the cholera, the Continent might look back on the year that is closing to-day with contentment, in spite of the sinister activity of "Anarchism" under various forms, the violence of Radicals and Clericals as displayed, in defiance even of the most liberal Constitutional system, in Belgium, the advance of the Socialists in Germany to a place among recognised political parties, the distress and discontent of the working classes in France, and the evils, as yet imperfectly comprehended, of a restless policy pursuing the objects of a vague ambition without reference to their lasting value.

No change of importance is to be recorded in the composition of the Ministry. Not only does Mr. Gladstone remain Prime Minister, but his personal ascendancy in English politics has been established more indisputably than ever. During the two sessions of Parliament he bore the brunt of the oratorical battle on every great occasion, and in his expedition to Scotland in the autumn he showed as decisively his undiminished power as a popular speaker. His predominance has rather overshadowed his colleagues. Mr. Chamberlain has, perhaps, been made an exception by the persistence with which the Opposition have denounced him and the boldness with which he has faced every attack. Mr. Dodson's retirement from the Cabinet on his elevation to the peerage offered an opportunity for the promotion of Mr. Trevelyan, who became Chancellor of the Duchy, and was succeeded as Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant by Mr. Campbell-Bannerman. The place of the latter as Secretary of the Admiralty was filled by Sir Thomas Brassey, and the vacant Civil Lordship was bestowed on Mr. Caine. The lamented death of Mr. Fawcett and the resignation of Mr. Courtney opened a new series of official migrations. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre became Postmaster-General, and Mr. Hibbert Secretary to the Treasury, while Mr. Henry Fowler entered the Government as Under-Secretary for the Home Department.

The autumnal campaign settled the question of the leadership of the Opposition. Lord Salisbury's mastery of rhetoric and the clearness of vision with which he pursued his aims, right or wrong, confirmed his authority over the whole of the Conserva-

tive party, and whatever may be thought of the compromise in which he was the principal actor on his side, his followers are ready to believe that he has secured for them more advantages than could have been gained by either a more cautious or a more reckless champion. It remains to be shown how far Lord Salisbury's personal character has impressed itself, favourably or otherwise, on the electors. As a platform orator he is believed to be less attractive than Lord Randolph Churchill, whose faith in "Tory democracy" does not deter him from consistently applying the doctrine "Who peppers the highest is surest to please," and whose influence over the popular element on the Conservative side was demonstrated by his triumph in the struggle for the control of the representative organisation of his party early in the year.

The attitude of the opposing parties in the State before the meeting of Parliament foreshadowed the final result. The Conservatives, as a party, did not contest the principle of the equalisation of the franchise, but took exception to the inclusion of Ireland and the postponement to another session of the redistribution of seats. The Liberals defended these features in the policy on which, after some hesitation, they had found themselves able to unite. When the Franchise Bill was brought in the questions at issue were left in the first instance to be settled by Parliamentary methods. Liberal meetings generally gave a thorough-going support to their party chiefs, and Conservative meetings applauded in like manner the resistance of Lord Salisbury. There was for many months little sign of excitement in the country, but the opinion that somehow or other the question must be settled, and that great national interests must not be postponed from year to year for the sake of changes in political machinery and the calculations of party involved therein, was silently becoming a predominant influence. When the House of Lords adopted Lord Cairns's amendment to the second reading of the Franchise Bill, the prospect of a prolonged crisis, and of an agitation threatening many other things besides Lord Salisbury's supremacy, produced alarm and irritation, and the action of the Peers would have been probably condemned by a majority of the nation if on that issue alone an appeal to the constituencies had been possible just before the close of the session.

The question, however, to be submitted to the popular judg-

ment was not of this simple character, and when the two parties were fairly engaged in a competition of demonstrations it was difficult to arrive at a clear conclusion. The great Reform procession which passed through the streets of London on 21st July was rivalled, and even in some cases surpassed, by an immense number of similar gatherings on the same side throughout England and Scotland, but on the other hand the Conservative demonstrations in supporting the House of Lords, though less frequent, were in one or two instances almost as imposing. Each party taunted the other with relying upon "political picnics," and the description was not an unfair one of many meetings, especially those held in the parks of Conservative peers.

Mr. Gladstone's visit to his constituents in Midlothian soon after the prorogation elicited the greatest enthusiasm throughout Scotland, but the Scotch did not need to be converted. The Opposition, if they were not successful in showing that the nation was on their side, produced evidence enough of a division of popular opinion on those points of procedure as to which alone, after the transactions with which the earlier session closed, there was any room for controversy. For it was noted that the House of Lords, while postponing the second reading of the Franchise Bill in July, had formally and unanimously recorded its acceptance, on Lord Dunraven's motion, of "the principles of representation contained in the Bill;" and that the Peers, a few days later, had given adhesion to Lord Cadogan's amendment suggesting the reintroduction and passing of the Franchise Bill in the Commons in the proposed autumn session and the production of the Redistribution Bill concurrently with the transmission of the other measure to the Upper House.

The Liberal party had thus induced their opponents to move a long way in the direction of immediate enfranchisement, and during the autumn campaign it was apparent that this practical approximation would render it difficult for the Government to resort to extremities were the Conservative Peers to insert a suspensory amendment and to insist again upon knowing what was to be the new distribution of political power. The Constitutional position of the House of Lords had been assailed by the advanced wing of the Liberals with more vehemence and determination than at any time during the last fifty years. But from a direct attack upon the Second Chamber, though a dis-

position to consider seriously schemes for its reform had been growing since Lord Rosebery's motion, the Prime Minister and his chief colleagues, as well as the bulk of their moderate followers, recoiled.

In these circumstances, when Parliament reassembled for the autumn session on 23rd October, though high and defiant language was still used on both sides, events and the desires of reasonable men were working towards a compromise. The debates on the Speech from the throne were prolonged, mainly by the Parnellite members, but a safety-valve was found for the party spirit which had been gathering in Lord Randolph Churchill's motion accusing Mr. Chamberlain of having incited the masses to attack and break up Tory meetings, and especially a Conservative demonstration at Aston Park, near Birmingham. Mr. Chamberlain, in his reply, defended his language on general grounds, but relied largely, in dealing with the Aston case, on affidavits showing designed provocation on the part of "Tory roughs." These statements were afterwards made the ground of legal proceedings both by Conservatives and Liberals at Birmingham, but with no decisive result, except that only one of the men who had sworn the affidavits was forthcoming at the trial.

This skirmishing in the debates on the Address gave time for informal negotiations, which soon after bore fruit. At first, however, it seemed that nothing could be done to bridge over the chasm, albeit a narrow one, which separated the Ministerial position, as defined in Lord Granville's proposals in July, from that of the Conservatives, as stated in Lord Cadogan's amendment. The simplicity of the task was too manifest to escape public notice, and leading personages on both sides began to fear that if the country were flung into a new crisis by their obstinacy they would suffer in character and influence. The rapid progress of the Bill through the House of Commons, where the second reading was carried, with the somewhat unexpected aid of the Parnellites, by a majority of 140, enforced an immediate decision. The main lines of the Government plan with respect to Redistribution were tolerably well known from Mr. Gladstone's speeches and other Ministerial disclosures, and it was only necessary to compare with this scheme the views entertained by the leaders of the Opposition. Moderate men felt rightly confident that by such a comparison a sound working compromise would be easily discovered.

When communications were opened between the two parties it was found that the Conservatives were prepared to go even further than the Government in disfranchising unimportant places, and were not desirous of insisting upon any unpopular or impracticable method of securing the representation of minorities. For a moment the decisive victory won by Mr. Sampson Lloyd in South Warwickshire moved the High Tories of the counties to revolt ; Mr. Lowther was permitted to disavow the conciliatory language of Sir Richard Cross, but unwise counsels did not long prevail. It was agreed that the draft Redistribution Bill should be submitted to the Conservative leaders and amended to meet their views, that on their acceptance of this measure they were to give the Government "adequate assurance" of their intention to carry the Franchise Bill through the House of Lords, that thereupon the Government should introduce the Redistribution Bill in the Lower House and carry it to the second reading, while the Opposition should at the same time redeem their pledge by allowing the Franchise Bill to become law. In this agreement the Government were content to trust for the "adequate assurance" demanded to the honour of English gentlemen, and in the same spirit the Conservative chiefs accepted the Ministerial promise that the Redistribution Bill would be pushed on as early as possible after the adjournment for Christmas, and that in the Lower House, where the Liberals command a majority, its passing would be considered a vital question by the Cabinet. This exchange of honourable engagements was amply sufficient. Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote had a series of interviews with a special committee of the Cabinet, consisting of the Prime Minister, Lord Hartington, and Sir Charles Dilke, and the Redistribution Bill as settled between these "high contracting powers" was brought in by Mr. Gladstone on 1st December. The second reading was taken three days later and carried without a division, and the House of Lords at the same time passed the Franchise Bill through its remaining stages. Parliament adjourned on 6th December to 19th February, when the Redistribution Bill will be thoroughly discussed on the motion for going into Committee, and proceeded with *de die in diem*.

The details of this measure attracted more attention than the Franchise Bill itself, which was quietly placed upon the Statute-book, and which, from the beginning of the new year, bestows the right to vote upon all rated householders, whether in counties

or boroughs, adding, it is estimated, some 2,000,000 of voters to the electoral rolls. Redistribution touches not the new voters so much as the old constituencies. The scheme now before Parliament, to which the leading men of both parties are pledged, evades some difficulties, and does not, perhaps, choose the best way out of others. Ireland and Wales retain their excess of representation, and the claims of Scotland are partially satisfied by an addition to the House, raising its numbers to 670. Boroughs with less than 15,000 inhabitants are to be merged in the surrounding county districts ; those with less than 50,000 inhabitants are to have only one member each ; those between 50,000 and 165,000 are to retain two members each. All urban constituencies with more than 165,000 inhabitants and all counties without exception are to be divided into districts represented each by a single member.

This system was intended to secure, through the medium of the instructions given, with the sanction of Parliament, to an independent body of Boundary Commissioners, the substantial representation of minorities, or rather of various interests, by separating the rural from the urban voters. The advocates of proportional representation were hostile to this scheme, which was also opposed by some of the large cities on the ground that it would destroy their corporate unity. Mr. Courtney gave point to his dissent by resigning his office as Secretary of the Treasury and by stating that Mr. Fawcett, if he had lived, would have taken the same course. Some Conservatives were found to support these views, but by far the greater number agreed that Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote had acted wisely in securing the single-member system, since *scrutin de liste* would be manifestly unjust and ruinous, and there was no chance of bringing into operation either Sir John Lubbock's plan of transferable voting, or the restrictive vote or cumulative vote already tried in "three-cornered" constituencies and at School Board elections. Moreover, there was, and is, a strong and a growing feeling that the honour of the leading statesmen on both sides was involved in the maintenance of the compromise, and that no improvement in electoral machinery could be a compensation either for a breach of faith discreditable to one or both parties, or for the withdrawal from political life of the ablest public men in the country.

The question of Parliamentary reform had almost a monopoly

of political interest—in the region, at least, of domestic affairs—during the year. The rest of the legislation promoted or projected by Ministers was viewed almost with indifference. Whatever hopes were founded on the Home Secretary's plan for the reconstruction of London government, and of Mr. Chamberlain's measure for the prevention of loss of life at sea, disappeared as soon as it became evident that the discussion could lead to no immediate result. The London Municipality Bill, it is plain, must now be relegated, with the whole group of problems connected with local government of which it forms a part, to the next reformed Parliament. The same tribunal must deal with the matters in controversy between the President of the Board of Trade and the shipping interest. A preliminary inquiry has been entrusted to a Royal Commission, the composition of which involved Mr. Chamberlain once more in a conflict with the shipowners, and was finally arranged by extensive concessions on the official side. The general belief is that Mr. Chamberlain had a strong case upon the facts, but that it was not wisely handled, and that the opposition of the shipowners had been stirred up as much by personal feelings unnecessarily provoked as by difficulties on points of principle. The complaints of the farmers at the spread of foot-and-mouth disease have been satisfied by the Act strengthening the powers of the Privy Council which was passed in May last, of which the most stringent provisions were forced on Mr. Dodson by a combination of county members, Whig and Tory.

Mr. Childers, though by no fault of his own, has missed the chance of achieving any financial triumphs. His budget barely showed an estimated surplus of a quarter of a million, without taking into account supplementary estimates, which of late years have generally upset the earlier calculations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The additional demands, which it was impossible to ignore, during the autumn session for the expeditions under Lord Wolseley and Sir Charles Warren were met, though in part only, by raising the income-tax from 5d. to 6d. in the pound for the year, so that, in the most favourable circumstances, a balance on the wrong side must be carried over to next year's account. The continued depression both in manufacturing industries and in agriculture makes it a difficult matter to increase the revenue without adding to the burdens of those already overtaxed. Yet, even if the work undertaken on the Nile and

in South Africa should be happily and economically concluded, the next budget will have to make provision for increased army and navy estimates.

Public attention has been directed to the defenceless condition of the coaling stations, which touches the efficiency of our existing system of imperial defence, to the slow progress made with the heavy ordnance required for ships of war and forts, and, above all, to the relative inferiority into which the naval forces of the country had been allowed to lapse. Lord Northbrook had in the month of July declared his entire satisfaction with the state of his department, and had even insisted that the Admiralty would find some difficulty in spending three or four millions, if voted by Parliament. But on his return from Egypt, soon after the opening of the autumn session, he discovered that public opinion had been aroused, and that the facts disclosed in speeches and letters, not only by independent persons like Sir Edward Reed, but by officials like Sir Thomas Brassey, were being debated with much warmth.

It was accordingly at once announced that something would be done, and before the Parliamentary adjournment the First Lord and the Secretary to the Admiralty made statements in both Houses purporting to show that large additions to the iron-clad fleet, to the swift cruisers, and to the torpedo defences would be undertaken, involving an expenditure of more than £3,000,000, besides additional grants for ordnance and coaling stations, raising the total of extraordinary estimates to about £5,500,000. This outlay was, however, to be distributed over five years, and to be shared between the War Office and the Admiralty. Looking at the dealings of the Treasury with the report of the Royal Commission on coaling stations and colonial defences, the expenditure on which, after years of delay, had been cut down, by ingenious postponements and audacious reductions, to an almost nominal sum, the country is justified in refusing to accept as sufficient Lord Northbrook's amended policy, falling short as it does of what Sir Edward Reed has declared to be the absolute *minimum* of our urgent requirements, and contemplating a rate of progress so deliberate as to leave a doubt whether anything more would be accomplished within the five years than the Admiralty was already pledged to perform according to the most modern reckonings.

The government of Ireland during the year was carried on

under peculiar difficulties, and with moderate success. The Separatist party, recovering from the shock of the conspiracy disclosures of the previous year, assailed the Executive in Dublin from behind the intrenchments of Parliamentary privilege with increasing audacity. Lord Spencer's conduct in failing to provide sufficient protection for the "right of public meeting," as exhibited in the Nationalist "invasion of Ulster," and in paying too much attention to the complaints of the Orangemen, was denounced; while the authorities on this side of the Channel were condemned by the same voices for allowing the procession at Cleator Moor under conditions closely resembling those which prevailed in the north of Ireland. The Irish Protestants, on their part, were wroth with the Government for permitting Mr. Healy and Mr. O'Brien to preach treason among them, and the effort to keep the ship of State on an "even keel" had to be content with the usual reward of virtue.

Meanwhile the operation of the Crimes Act, which must be renewed next year, was vehemently attacked, and a new system of tactics was brought into play with the object of discrediting the convictions obtained in the prosecutions under that statute. Evidence, or what purported to be such, was produced impeaching the testimony of approvers relied on by the Crown, in some cases supported by the admission of the informers themselves. The good faith of these recantations was obviously most questionable, but when Lord Spencer refused to act upon them and to reverse the decisions of the Courts of Law he was held up to infamy in the Nationalist Press and in Parliament as having compassed the death of innocent men by subornation of perjury and suppression of evidence. With these charges were mixed up others of a still more abominable kind, founded upon the fact that one or two officials were being prosecuted for gross offences against morality, and on the untruthful suggestion that the Lord-Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary had striven to shield them. The scandalous language employed with impunity in the principal organ of the Nationalists, under the editorship of Mr. O'Brien, was not checked by a verdict for damages obtained by Mr. Bolton, one of the Crown solicitors, which was covered by a popular subscription on Mr. O'Brien's behalf.

The campaign was renewed with augmented vigour when it was found that Mr. Trevelyan's promotion to the Cabinet did not imply a surrender to those who were clamouring for his

disgrace, and that Lord Spencer, who, it was known, regarded the Crimes Act as indispensable to the maintenance of order, was to remain supreme in Dublin Castle. The debates during the autumn session on the Maamtrasna case and other prosecutions brought to light some doubtful points of procedure, but showed no ground for crediting the informers' recantations or reversing the decision of the Irish Executive. Irish lawlessness has been more active outside of Ireland than within the jurisdiction of the Crimes Act, though the partially successful attempt to blow up Mr. Hussey's house near Tralee may warn optimists that the dangerous spirit has not been stamped out.

The "party of dynamite" have been more daring and persistent in their attempts in this country. Happily their skill has not been equal to their malignity. Three times within the past twelve months has the destruction of life and property in London been attempted through the agency of dynamite—in February, when an explosion occurred at Victoria Station, and preparations for a similar crime were discovered at Paddington, Charing Cross, and Ludgate Hill ; in May, when simultaneous explosions took place in St. James's Square and at Scotland Yard ; and during the present month, when an attempt was made to blow up London Bridge. For complicity in the importation of explosives with criminal intent, two Irishmen residing in the Midlands were brought to justice, but the authorship of the greater number of these crimes remains up to the present undetected and unpunished.

The contagion of Irish lawlessness has made itself felt among the Celtic population on the west coast of Scotland. The Report of the Royal Commission on the state of the crofters has not been followed up by legislation, and the peasantry in the island of Skye, under the pressure, no doubt, of painful distress, threatened not only resistance to legal claims, but violence against obnoxious individuals. They have, however, not gone beyond menaces, and have declined at the last moment to engage, after the fatal Irish example, in conflict with the law. The Government have upheld lawful authority even to the extent of ordering the use of troops if required, though the language of the Home Secretary in the House of Commons has not always been as prudent and firm as his official action.

In other parts of the kingdom the wild doctrines preached by Mr. Henry George have met with little acceptance, and even

in Ireland Mr. Davitt's apostolate of land nationalisation has called forth no warm response. Almost as fruitless hitherto have been the labours of the "fair trade" agitators, notwithstanding the indirect encouragement they have received from some Conservative statesmen, and the favourable conditions for their propaganda supplied by the continued depression of agriculture and the paralysis of some of our chief manufacturing industries. The denunciation of the sugar bounties given by foreign Governments and the demand for the imposition of countervailing duties have not been stayed by the arguments, conclusive as they appear on economical grounds, of the officials of the Board of Trade.

At the beginning, as at the close of the year, Egypt was the centre of the gravest political preoccupations. The policy of the Government was kept throughout in concealment, or at the best in a perplexing half-light, and there was no time at which some pretext for postponing the public judgment was not plausibly available. The dismissal of Sherif Pasha's Ministry at the instance, or rather under the orders, of England, for refusing to carry out the complete evacuation of the Soudan, was followed by Nubar Pasha's restoration to power and the ostensible strengthening of the English element in the Egyptian Administration. For three or four months reforms made, according to Ministerial accounts, very satisfactory progress, in spite of underground intrigues and official bickerings. The support of Sir Evelyn Baring was cordially given to General Wood, Colonel Scott Moncrieff, and Mr. Clifford Lloyd, acting nominally under the Egyptian Ministers, but really representing English influence. Nubar Pasha, however, by a threat of resignation at a moment when the financial difficulty was becoming serious, succeeded in getting rid of Mr. Clifford Lloyd and in restoring the authority of the "native element" in the Administration.

Meanwhile, this country had become more than ever involved in the affairs of Egypt. General Gordon had been hastily despatched to Khartoum in January to arrange for the withdrawal of the Egyptian garrisons and the establishment of some local government, but it was ostentatiously announced that he would not receive any military support. He was warmly welcomed by the people, and his personal influence put some heart into the Egyptian soldiery. The Mahdi, however, refused to accept any

terms short of an unconditional surrender, and General Gordon was forced back on a plan for employing the slave-hunter Zebehr to assume the command at Khartoum after his departure. To this the Government at home could not assent, but neither would they strengthen General Gordon's hands so as to allow him to act for himself. The appearance of hesitation and the rumours of withdrawal encouraged the enemy. Khartoum was threatened by hosts of the Mahdi's followers, and though they were repeatedly routed and repulsed by General Gordon, in spite of the treachery of some of his native officers and the cowardice of their troops, the city was slowly but surely cut off from communication with Lower Egypt and the outer world. Before the investment was completed indignant despatches from General Gordon, charging upon the Government the "indelible disgrace" of the abandonment, not of himself, but of the garrisons and the loyal people of Khartoum, were published in England, and aroused feelings which were inadequately represented by the wavering and inconclusive debates on the subject.

Still greater interest was awakened by the telegrams published in these columns from our correspondent, Mr. Power, who had remained in Khartoum with the remnant of Hicks Pasha's army, and was, beside General Gordon and Colonel Stewart, the only British subject left in the place when the siege began. Mr. Power's striking account of the defence, which was brought down in his journal, received at a much later date, to the close of July, made the public mind familiar with the chief traits of General Gordon's character, his undaunted courage, his inexhaustible resource, his singular gift of influencing men, savage or civilised, his high and chivalrous devotion to his country and to the cause of humanity. From time to time General Gordon's gunboats cleared the Nile of his enemies, and if he had been content to escape alone, leaving his mission unaccomplished and the memory of broken faith behind him, he might, doubtless, have retired, as some persons in this country apparently expected. But this course was with him morally impossible. The British Government took no active measures on his behalf, and even refused to state explicitly down to the close of the earlier session of Parliament whether or not an expedition would be sent for his relief.

A succession of priceless opportunities was thus irreparably lost. On the coast of the Red Sea important operations had been

undertaken, at a heavy cost and with no little bloodshed, the results of which, in the opinion of the most competent judges, might have been utilised for General Gordon's benefit. Osman Digma, an Arab chief professing attachment to the Mahdi, was pressing hard, at the beginning of the year, upon the port of Suakin and the neighbouring garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar, when he found himself threatened by Baker Pasha, who was hastily despatched from Cairo with an ill-organised army of Egyptians and Nubiens. The Arabs fell upon them, slaughtering a vast number ; the rest fled in hopeless rout and palsied terror. The event might have been foreseen. It proved even more decisively than the ill-conduct of the Egyptian soldiery at Khartoum that if Egypt, including the Red Sea littoral and the Lower Nile Valley, was to be defended against the rising tide of fanaticism native troops could not be trusted.

The Ministry, after some weeks' painful suspense, resolved, immediately after the opening of Parliament, to send out General Graham with a British force to restore order. General Graham fought two pitched battles at Teb and Tamasi at the end of February and the beginning of March, defeating the Arabs, who displayed extraordinary bravery and determination, and driving Osman Digma into flight. No effort, however, was sanctioned by the Government for the opening of communications with Khartoum by the Suakin-Berber route, as General Gordon had suggested, nor was the design approved of a light railway to connect the Red Sea coast with the Nile Valley in view of a relief expedition. General Graham and the bulk of his troops were withdrawn, and Suakin, left under the protection of a few marines and some native levies, was soon harassed once more by Osman Digma and his adherents. A treaty concluded by Admiral Hewett with the King of Abyssinia has had no perceptible influence on the power of the Mahdi.

Just before the close of the session in August, the Government obtained a vote of credit to provide for preliminary expenses in case an expedition to Khartoum should become necessary, but the matter was still left dubious. Preparations, however, were actively begun ; and at the close of the month Lord Wolseley left London, arriving at Cairo early in September. It was by that time decided that the expedition must be sent, and that the Nile route must be selected instead of the Suakin-Berber route. For the latter an earlier movement was indis-

pensable, and the fall of Berber, in spite of General Gordon's efforts to rescue the place, was a paralysing loss.

Lord Wolseley's preparations for the advance were of the most elaborate and costly character, but the difficulties of the river route at a season when the Nile had begun to fall have proved even more serious than had been anticipated. Fortunately, the Mudir of Dongola, on whose fidelity some doubts had been thrown, chiefly in consequence of his own ambiguous and contradictory messages, acted at the most critical time as a bulwark against the Mahdi's progress, and furnished a base of operations for the expeditionary force. The transport beyond Sarras, to which point the railway had been extended, was performed for the most part by whaleboats managed by Canadian boatmen, specially acquainted with the navigation of rapids. The work was both arduous and hazardous, and though Lord Wolseley's arrangements have hitherto kept the details of the campaign from the knowledge of people at home, his offer of a large reward to the regiment which should first reach Debbeh is a proof that he deems it necessary to resort to extraordinary expedients.

It is calculated that by the first week of January Lord Wolseley will have 7000 men at Ambukol, but of these probably less than one-third will be equipped for a dash across the desert to Shendy, whence the actual measures for the relief of Gordon, if it is not to be indefinitely delayed, must be undertaken. Of the situation in Khartoum scarcely any intelligence has of late reached this country, and the news received from General Gordon himself, confirming the report that Colonel Stewart, Mr. Power, and a body of troops sent forward with them from the beleaguered city had been stranded near Berber and massacred by hostile tribes, can hardly be taken as of good omen.

While a timid and hesitating policy has involved the country in an extravagant expenditure on the Upper Nile, the extent of which Ministers themselves are at present afraid to contemplate—for the vote of £1,000,000, obtained in the autumn session, is obviously a mere contribution "on account"—the position of ascendancy in Lower Egypt secured for England by the labours and sacrifices of the war against Arabi has been brought into peril, or at least into question, by the financial difficulty. Early in the year it was made evident to the British Government that, owing in part to accumulated deficits and to the

expense of the war in the Soudan, but chiefly to the indemnities for the losses caused by the Alexandria riots, the Egyptian Treasury must either make default or obtain a suspension of the Law of Liquidation. Lord Granville invited the European Powers to a Conference to discuss this alleged necessity and to consider the demand for a relaxation of the terms by which Egypt was bound. Unfortunately, it was thought expedient to purchase the goodwill of France by the promise, subject to the acceptance of the English financial proposals, of concessions amounting to a surrender of English ascendancy in Egypt. The "Anglo-French Agreement" stipulated for the withdrawal of the British troops at a fixed date, unless Europe should insist on their remaining, for the adoption of a scheme to constitute the Khedive's dominions "an African Belgium," and for the strengthening of the powers of the Caisse de la Dette Publique so as to establish in fact, if not in form, an "International Control."

The Conference met, but the English financial proposals, involving a reduction all round on the interest payable to the creditors of Egypt, were opposed by the French representatives, and, as no understanding appeared to be attainable, the question was left without a solution. The Conference was dissolved in a somewhat peremptory manner by Lord Granville, and it was announced that Lord Northbrook would be at once sent out to Cairo to inquire into the subject independently. There seemed to be a hope that the Government would recognise facts, and in some manner induce the bondholders and the Powers behind them to relax the pressure of their legal claims. The security afforded by an English guarantee or by the formal acceptance by England of responsibility for the government of Egypt would have been adequate compensation for even a large reduction of interest. But Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were unwilling to acknowledge their errors.

Lord Northbrook returned from Cairo with a plan which was kept concealed from the public, but which, there is the best reason to believe, attempted to escape from the difficulty without accepting new responsibilities, by leaving the bondholders' interest untouched and relieving Egypt mainly by transferring the burden of the Army of Occupation to the broad back of the English taxpayer. The Cabinet could not be brought to consent to such a proposal as this, and after some delay an alternative scheme was propounded and laid before the Powers; a loan was to be

advanced by England, secured on the lands hitherto pledged to the Domains and Daira creditors, and the latter obligations were to be merged in the Preference and Unified Debts respectively; to the Preference Debt were to be added new bonds to the amount of the Alexandria indemnities, but the interest was not to be reduced, while  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent was to be taken off the interest on the increased mass of the Unified stock and the capital of the Suez Canal shares held by the British Government. How far this plan would permanently balance the Budget may be doubtful.

The assent of the Powers to the change in the Law of Liquidation has not yet been obtained, nor, indeed, has any formal answer been given, but the policy of England has been violently assailed both in France and Germany. A pretext for intervention has been afforded by the suspension of the Sinking Fund of the Unified Debt to meet the immediate emergency which Lord Northbrook pressed upon the Egyptian Government in the autumn. For this breach of the Law of Liquidation the Commissioners of the Public Debt have prosecuted and obtained judgment against the Egyptian Government before the International tribunals, and though, in the interval allowed for appeal, the judgment cannot be enforced, it is plain that the issue cannot be much longer staved off. It is important to note that Germany and Russia have chosen this moment to insist that their representatives shall be admitted to share in the rights and powers of the Caisse, and that the temporising reply of the Khedive's Ministers has been followed by renewed and more urgent demands.

It is not in Egypt alone that England has found her policy crossed or criticised by other Powers. "The scramble for Africa" has become the subject of high diplomatic negotiations, and the final result is at present uncertain. The competition of rival explorers on the upper course of the Congo induced the British Foreign Office to recognise the obsolete claims of Portugal to the territorial possession of the lower part of the river, and a treaty embodying this recognition, with guarantees for freedom of trade, was laid before Parliament. The transaction was looked on with jealousy by the Portuguese, but it would probably have been ratified if Germany, followed by France and other Powers, had not declined to sanction it. An attempt was then made by England to procure the appointment of an

International Commission to control and regulate the navigation and commerce of the Congo.

Nothing, however, was done till the autumn, when, after a separate negotiation between Germany and France—at this time drawn closely together by Prince Bismarck's policy—a Conference was convened at Berlin to consider the subject. The German Chancellor had been affronted by the hesitating and illogical policy of the British Government in dealing with English claims over the territory extending from the recognised frontier of the Cape Colony to the Portuguese dominions. England had, in the first place, refused to give protection to German subjects in those regions, as not being British territory. Then, after Germany had asserted her right to annex the unoccupied coast, it was seriously argued that though this country had not annexed the territory in question, the possibility of annexing it in the future must not be parted with. Neither this position nor the encouragement given to the claims advanced when too late by the Cape Government could be maintained after the earlier disclaimers of Ministers at home, and Prince Bismarck's peremptory language was at length answered by a complete surrender. The French Government, which had acquired the right to a reversion of the claims of the International Association on the Congo, was as much in favour with the Chancellor as the English Government was the contrary.

Luckily, at the Conference this country stood on firm ground ; the ostensible object of the negotiations was to open the African continent to commerce, and English commercial policy has been strikingly distinguished from that of Germany and of France by the uncompromising acceptance of free trade. We have nothing to lose but everything to gain by the opening of the Congo on equal terms to traders of all nations, and if the French and German colonies in Africa were to carry out the liberal principles adopted at Berlin the advantage to England would be considerable. The project of placing the Niger, of which the lower course is practically under an English protectorate, under the system of international control proposed for the Congo was not pressed against the British protest, and the Government will substantially have no change to make in the existing state of things, while the complications of a Commission including representatives of several countries will be averted.

A more difficult question remains to be determined in refer-

ence to the future of the International Association, which has now been recognised as an established State by all the Great Powers. France has secured reversionary rights which she has agreed to share so far as trade is concerned with Germany, but both are pledged by the Berlin agreement to maintain commercial freedom and equality. The conditions of the reversion are still unsettled, and there is a boundary question between France and the Association which, in the interests of peace, ought to be closed.

It is to be hoped that the British Government have not mismanaged another South African question as badly as that of Angra Pequena. The condition of Zululand has been one of turbulence and anarchy ever since the ill-judged recall of Cetywayo. Outside the Reserve, in the presence of a declaration that the British authorities could not and would not interfere on either side, one section of the natives invoked the assistance of the Transvaal Boers, by whose aid they overthrew Usibepu, the victorious rival of Cetywayo. After this victory the Boers, as was to be expected, proceeded to establish for themselves a republican government in Zululand, of which they offered the presidency to General Joubert. Whether or not Joubert has been disposed to accept is doubtful. The most important point, however, is that, after the English declarations of non-interference have been reiterated and accentuated, it is rumoured that Germany has taken, or is about to take, possession of Amatonga Land, or to obtain from Portugal a grant of Delagoa Bay. St. Lucia Bay, ceded to England by the Zulu King Panda more than forty years ago, and situated on the east coast of South Africa, midway between Natal and Delagoa Bay, has also been pointed at as an object of German ambition, but this contingency seems to have been anticipated by the action of the Natal Government in raising the British flag on this debatable ground within the past few days.

These difficulties are intimately connected with the tedious controversy relating to the Transvaal border. President Kruger and two other representatives of the Boers visited England early in the year and obtained important modifications, in the interest of the Transvaal, of the Pretoria Convention. The British Government, however, refused to deliver up the Bechuanas, who had some claim to be considered our allies, and the command of the main trade route of South Africa to the Boer adventurers.

A British protectorate over Bechuanaland was established by the revised Convention, which was duly signed by the delegates and afterwards ratified by the Volksraad, and Mr. Mackenzie was appointed British Agent under Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner.

The Boers, however, who had set up what they called independent republics in Bechuanaland, imagined that they could extort further concessions by obstinate resistance. They set Mr. Mackenzie's authority at nought, waged war against the chief Montsioa, whose rights had been specially reserved, and compelled him to accept a treaty which virtually placed his lands at their disposal. The High Commissioner and the English Government were treated with gross insolence, and Mr. Bethell, an English gentleman acting as agent for one of the Bechuana chiefs, was brutally and treacherously murdered. When Parliament met in the autumn, Ministers hastened to avert a damaging debate by the announcement that the Boers would be made to respect the terms of the Convention, if necessary by force of arms. The Ministerial project, however, of placing Bechuanaland under the Cape Government appeared to be open to question, when it was seen that a powerful party among the colonists, including the Premier, Mr. Upington, sympathised with the Boers.

The task of restoring order in Bechuanaland, of enforcing the terms of the Convention, and of protecting Montsioa was at length undertaken directly by the Imperial Government. A vote of three-quarters of a million sterling was granted by Parliament in November for the expenses of the expedition, which has been placed under the command of Sir Charles Warren, with full powers, both military and political. The ultimate settlement of the questions in dispute is, it is said, to be left to the Cape Parliament, subject to the approval of the Imperial Government. It is necessary to remember, in considering the effect of these complications, that the Boer delegates, before returning to Africa, visited Holland and Germany, and claimed, on the score of kinship, the sympathy and aid of the German Empire.

No other part of our Colonial Empire has been exposed to the same trials as South Africa, but in Australia a group of questions has arisen for debate which must be delicately, and at the same time firmly, handled. The Australian colonists,

reasonably alarmed at the growth of the French penal settlements in New Caledonia, and the probability that by the Recidivists Bill, introduced by M. Ferry's Ministry, the evil would be enormously increased, pressed upon the Home Government the necessity not only of resisting the exportation of the off-scouring of European gaols to the Southern Pacific, but of annexing New Guinea and the neighbouring islands, where, it was believed, German occupation was meditated.

The Colonial Office put in as a plea for delay the demand, which it was not expected the colonists would speedily comply with, for a preliminary scheme of intercolonial federation. But colonial opinion was so keenly excited that a federal scheme was at once prepared by the delegates of the several colonies assembled in conference at Sydney ; and though the Government of New South Wales subsequently withdrew from the understanding, the Governments of Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, West Australia, and Tasmania formally approved it, and petitioned the Imperial Ministers to pass an "enabling" Act without delay. The offence taken by New South Wales has, however, rendered any Imperial legislation most difficult, even if time could have been found for it at the close of last session or before the recent adjournment, and Lord Derby has sent out a despatch to the Governments of the various colonies suggesting several emendations. Meanwhile, the Foreign Office has been negotiating with France on the subject of the Recidivists Bill, and has at least succeeded in postponing any decision adverse to the claims of the colonists, who, it should be understood, are fully prepared to take measures to protect themselves if the French do not recede.

In regard to the annexation of New Guinea, the hand of the Imperial Government had been forced by the unauthorised act of the Queensland authorities at the close of last year. In October a British protectorate over a portion of the southern coast of the island was proclaimed, which, however, by no means satisfied colonial aspirations. It is announced, as the year closes, that the German Government have occupied the northern coast of New Guinea, as well as New Britain and the adjacent isles, and if this be so the case is a parallel one to that of Angra Pequena.

Of the other colonies there is little to record. The West Indies have been suffering severely, in part from depression of

trade, but more, perhaps, from the results of an unsound fiscal system. Jamaica has not, however, been tempted to enter into a commercial confederacy with Canada, where the protectionist spirit is as strong as ever. These questions of conflicting tariffs are among the difficulties which stand in the way of the accomplishment of any project of Imperial federation. The desire, both among colonists and in the mother country, that the unity of the Empire should be maintained has been expressed in a striking form at a conference which met in the summer and reassembled in the autumn at the Westminster Palace Hotel. Several distinguished men of both parties in the State gave their aid and approval to the movement, and an "Imperial Federation League" was formed, which will, at all events, make the country familiar with the conditions of an interesting problem.

The internal tranquillity of India, which was broken last year by Lord Ripon's unlucky attempt to conciliate the sentiment of a small minority of ambitious natives at the expense of administrative efficiency and the convictions of Anglo-Indians, was outwardly restored by the enactment of the compromise on the Ilbert Bill agreed upon before New Year's Day. But the irritation on both sides has not, unfortunately, disappeared, and the retirement of Lord Ripon has been made the occasion for a display of feeling, favourable and unfavourable to the late Viceroy, which is without precedent in the history of India.

Lord Dufferin, who has been appointed to succeed Lord Ripon, has been welcomed without reserve by all classes, and each side probably cherishes the hope of winning him over to its views. The new Governor-General has practical problems to deal with, which are even more serious than those raised by the sentimental jealousies of race and the attempts of agitators to pour the new wine of European democracy into the old bottles of Hindoo society. We published during the autumn a careful account of the armies and military organisations of the Native States of India, in which it was shown that the feudatory Princes, some of whom, at least, are of doubtful loyalty, kept on foot just 350,000 soldiers, with 4237 pieces of artillery. As the Anglo-Indian army, which has to maintain order among a population four times as numerous as that of the feudatory States, numbers only some 65,000 Europeans and 125,000 natives, the disproportion is a grave matter, especially at a time

when some experienced officials do not disguise their apprehension of internal dangers, and when the activity of Russia on the side of Afghanistan has been renewed.

Lord Dufferin, on the eve of his departure for India, laid down the sound principle that the security of a nation's frontiers must not be allowed to remain dependent on the goodwill or the forbearance of any foreign Power. The delimitation of the Russian and Afghan frontiers, in which it was agreed that English officers should take part on behalf of the Ameer, has not yet been practically begun; but the engineers and scientific men who left India in the autumn and joined their chief, Sir Peter Lumsden, on the western borders of Afghanistan are established on the banks of the Murghab for the winter. The Russian Commissioners were to have met them there in February, but it has been somewhat audaciously announced that the Chief Commissioner on the part of the Czar, General Zelenoy, has just started to make holiday, at this critical juncture, at his country residence near Tiflis. Meanwhile, the Russian troops are reported to be busy, whether in the guise of surveying parties or not, in the districts which are to be "delimited," and Sir Peter Lumsden appears to have found a Russian force encamped at Pul-i-Khatun, which is within the debatable region claimed by the Afghans.

In the United States the Presidential election has been the absorbing topic throughout the year. The session of Congress which ended in March was rendered abortive by the desire of both parties to avoid a direct issue on the Free Trade question, which for the present has been shelved. The Democrats laid themselves out for a "waiting game," patching up their intestine differences with regard to the tariff and founding their hopes of regaining control of the Executive after an ostracism of nearly a quarter of a century on the probability that the Republicans would select an objectionable candidate. This anticipation was realised when the Republican Convention at Chicago nominated Mr. Blaine, a politician of long and varied experience and of unequalled influence both as an orator and as a wirepuller, but conspicuously hostile to the movement for administrative reform and the purification of politics. The "Independent" or "reforming" section of the Republicans at once declared that if the Democrats chose at their Convention a candidate of high public character, such as Mr. Cleveland, the Governor of New

York State, they would sink party considerations and vote for the "Democratic ticket."

Mr. Cleveland, accordingly, was chosen, and the campaign of the autumn turned upon a comparison between his personal claims and those of Mr. Blaine. The latter was accused of having misused his power as Speaker of the House of Representatives for private and corrupt objects, and of having pursued, as Secretary of State and as leader of the Republican party in the Senate, a pernicious and turbulent policy at home and abroad. Mr. Cleveland was known as having courageously combated in his office as Governor both municipal corruption and "rings" dominated by intriguing capitalists ; but charges against his individual purity of life were employed with effect to deter wavering Republicans from voting against their party. The situation was complicated by the appearance of General Butler as a candidate of the Repudiationists and the so-called "Friends of Labour," and of Mr. St. John as the standard-bearer of the "liquor-prohibitionists." These, however, were looked upon as merely diversions, and did not seriously affect the result.

Mr. Blaine's appeals to the anti-English spirit of the Irish voters failed to draw them away from their established alliance with the Democrats ; the "Tammany hall" wire-pullers, after some hesitation, found that they must support Mr. Cleveland ; and the south "went solid" on the same side. The elections of 4th November showed that Mr. Cleveland had undoubtedly carried, apart from the south, the States of New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana, the rest of the north and west being conceded to Mr. Blaine. The opposing parties were thus left almost precisely on an equality, and the decision rested with New York, which was for a day or two in doubt, but which was ultimately acknowledged to have "gone Democratic" by a narrow majority. The project of a treaty with Nicaragua giving the United States control over the proposed inter-oceanic canal has found little favour, and can hardly be ratified by the present Congress.

Continental politics during the year were important rather for their tendencies than their incidents. Prince Bismarck has succeeded, to all appearance, in consolidating the good understanding with France which has been for some time a main object with him ; England has been to a great extent "isolated," and Italy, according to the prevalent belief in Germany, has

been punished for assuming an attitude of criticism and reserve by reduction to a state of comparative insignificance. The original "League of the Three Emperors" was formally renewed in the autumn at a meeting of the sovereigns of Germany, Austria, and Russia in Poland. The effect of these diplomatic achievements may, perhaps, be already traced in the developments of the Egyptian and West African difficulties. On the Continent, however, they have been favourable to the maintenance of international peace, nor, in spite of the terror inspired by Anarchist conspiracies, have there been in any European country any noteworthy political changes. The recent elections to the German Parliament have strengthened the Conservatives, the Clericals, and the Moderate Liberals at the expense of the Radical party; but they have also revealed the great and growing strength of the Socialist Democrats in the large towns.

The Chancellor and the new Reichstag have been from the outset at cross purposes. Prince Bismarck has treated the Liberals and the Clericals in turn with something like contumely; he has refused to satisfy either side in dealing with the Falk Laws, and he has declined to sanction the payment of members; he has had to face overpowering hostile majorities, and has even been affronted by a denial of the assistance which he demanded in the Foreign Department. These domestic wrangles are in curious contrast with the influence of the Chancellor in Continental politics. Austria follows submissively in the wake of Germany, and Russia has postponed her European to her Asiatic ambitions in deference to German susceptibilities.

The minor States have been, on the whole, untroubled. In Spain King Alfonso early in the year called Señor Canovas del Castillo to office, in view of the quarrels between the supporters of Señor Sagasta and the discontented Liberals, and the Conservative Government, being assured of the support of the new Cortes, appear to be firmly established in power. The designs of Señor Zorrilla and the extreme Radicals, which once seemed to portend another appeal to military force, have come to nothing. A commercial treaty has been arranged with the United States, and it is believed that the long-standing controversy with this country on the subject of the wine duties will soon be closed. In Italy politics were paralysed by the ravages of the cholera,

against which ridiculous and offensive quarantine measures proved entirely ineffectual.

The most serious political crisis has arisen in Belgium, where a sudden shift of public opinion overthrew a Liberal majority and placed a Clerical Government in power. A reaction, as was natural, has quickly followed this sudden transformation of parts ; the educational policy of the new Ministry provoked violent popular protests, culminating in serious riots and a demand that the King should use his prerogative to cut the knot ; and, finally, the Administration was modified, while still remaining Clerical, by the retirement of the Premier, M. Malou. The agitation in Belgium is in contrast with the quietude of Dutch politics, though the death of the Prince of Orange produced a slight feeling of uneasiness lest the succession of a Princess should give rise to controversy. Eastern Europe has been comparatively at rest. Turkish misgovernment or mal-administration has led to rumours of disturbances both in Macedonia and Armenia. The diplomacy of the Porte has been principally engaged in attempting, without much practical success, to obtain the recognition of the Sultan's authority over Egypt and to reassert the influence of Turkey in the counsels of the Great Powers.

In France M. Jules Ferry maintains his position, in spite of repeated checks, as, apparently, the only possible Minister. A "Congress" of the two Chambers assembled in the spring to discuss the proposed revision of the Constitution, and, after some Parliamentary controversy on the details of the measure, a compromise was arranged, with which the Moderates were fairly content, while the Extreme parties on both sides were disappointed. No new life Senators, it was agreed, were to be chosen. The Senatorial electors of the future are to be delegates of the municipal bodies. In the more recent debates on the Bill embodying these changes an amendment was carried in the Chamber of Deputies, on the motion of M. Floquet, insisting on the election of Senators by universal suffrage. M. Ferry, however, ventured to disregard this vote of a Radical-Royalist coalition, and when the Bill went up to the Senate the Floquet amendment was excised. Some minor concessions, however, were made to the advanced Republicans ; the Chamber then renewed its fidelity to M. Ferry by a majority of fifty-three, and the Bill passed substantially in its original form. We may men-

tion, also, the legal establishment of divorce by M. Naquet's Bill and the continued disputes between Prince Napoleon and his son, Prince Victor, which have paralysed Bonapartism.

But the political interest of the year in France was mainly fixed upon external affairs, and especially upon the difficulties with China. The fall of Bac-ninh early in the spring led to an apparent collapse of the Chinese resistance. The fighting ceased in Tonquin, and in May a provisional treaty was signed between Li-Hung-Chang, who was believed to be at the head of the peace party, and a French naval officer, Captain Fournier. It is a hotly-contested point whether this arrangement was intended to be definitive and immediate or not; but the French commander in Tonquin proceeded at once to enforce the cession of the posts in the border country which were mentioned in the treaty. The Chinese troops resisted the march of the French on Langson, and fired upon them. France, of course, protested against this breach of faith, and demanded the payment of an indemnity; but the Government at Pekin proved to be in no yielding mood. When diplomatic menaces had failed, a French squadron attacked the forts near the entrance of the harbour of Foochow and inflicted some damage on them, as well as on the arsenal and some worthless Chinese vessels. China still refused to come to terms, and France then sought a "material guarantee" in the island of Formosa, where Kelung and other important but unhealthy positions have been seized, and where a permanent occupation is said to be contemplated, unless the Pekin Government agree to make reparation for the affair at Langson.

As China has not accepted the English mediation, which was invited by France, and to which Lord Granville at the Guildhall dinner in November declared himself favourable, it is probable that the policy of occupying Formosa will have to be supplemented by more vigorous measures. These, indeed, were obviously kept in view by the Chamber, which has lately voted large war credits for M. Ferry, in spite of the bitter opposition of M. Clémenceau. Meanwhile the operations in Tonquin are said to be languishing, and the Chinese defences are being constantly strengthened. It is clear, also, that Li-Hung-Chang has finally cast in his lot with the party of war. The recent revolution in Corea has not as yet acted powerfully as a diversion. In Madagascar the Hovas are not yet subdued, and in Morocco French intrigues, which for a moment looked

serious, have resulted only in the irritation and the alienation of Spain.

Many events, at home and abroad, deserve a passing record apart from politics. The outbreak of cholera in the south of France early in the summer produced widespread dismay all over the Continent, and great inconvenience through the imposition of quarantine. The disease subsequently appeared in Italy, and late in the autumn there was a sharp and short epidemic in Paris. But it was, on the whole, more restricted and less fatal than former visitations.

We have noticed the repeated attempts to destroy life and property by dynamite in this country, and wicked designs of the same sort were brought to light both in Europe and America. Among these may be specially mentioned the conspiracy for the destruction of the German Emperor and the vast gathering of spectators assembled at the unveiling of the Niederwald monument; of this crime, and of an explosion planned at Elberfeld, several men were convicted lately, after a long and interesting trial, at Leipsic. In Russia the Government is engaged in a constant warfare with Nihilists; and in Austria the Anarchist terror divides the public interest with the commercial frauds, which have led to several sensational trials and suicides.

In our own country there have been an unusual number of striking cases before the Courts of Law. Mrs. Weldon's endless litigations and her very considerable success in pleading her own cause have multiplied the nuisance of the "suitor in person." The question of Mr. Bradlaugh's right to be sworn, and of his liability for damages for having administered the oath to himself, remains to be settled by the highest tribunal. The case of "*Adams v. Coleridge*" attracted attention from the connections of the defendant and the overriding of the verdict of the jury by Mr. Justice Manisty. The interest excited by Miss Finney's breach-of-promise action against Lord Garmoyle was abated by the fact that the question left for decision in court was one of damages only, though the sum awarded was the largest ever obtained in a case of the kind. The trial of the survivors of the crew of the *Mignonette* on a charge of cannibalism at sea ended in the conviction of the accused, which was upheld by the Court of Appeal; but the death sentence was reduced by the Crown to one of six months' imprisonment. The release of Orton, at the close of his term of penal servitude, has been

followed by an abortive attempt to revive the "Tichborne" craze.

The captivity of the crew of the *Nisero* in Sumatra excited general sympathy. Of naval disasters, unfortunately too frequent, the most painful was the wreck of Her Majesty's ship *Wasp* on the west coast of Ireland.

Among social occurrences may be noted the elevation of the Poet Laureate to the peerage, the retirement of Archbishop Trench from the See of Dublin, in which he was succeeded by Lord Plunket, and the appointment of Mr. Warre as Headmaster of Eton. Of more universal interest is the announcement made in the last hours of the year of the betrothal of Princess Beatrice, Her Majesty's youngest and only unmarried daughter, to Prince Henry of Battenberg. The Health Exhibition at South Kensington proved even a more remarkable success than the Fisheries Exhibition of the preceding year. The revival of industrial activity in the Southern States is shown in the New Orleans Exhibition. It is worth while to mention the controversy on "over-pressure" in Board schools between the Education Department and Dr. Crichton Browne, and one of a still more personal kind between Mr. Chamberlain and Professor Tyndall.

Society in France has been shocked by the frequency of murders, prompted by sordid or revengeful motives, the most recent and conspicuous case being that of Madame Clovis Hugues, the wife of a well-known Radical deputy, who shot a private detective, against whom she had been successfully pressing a charge of criminal libel. As the year closes Southern Spain has been devastated by terrible and disastrous earthquakes. England, which has rarely suffered from such natural convulsions, will long remember the shock which alarmed the inhabitants of Essex in the spring.

The death-roll of the year embraces many famous and remarkable names, though none, perhaps, of such eminence as to signalise an irreparable loss or a national disaster. The domestic happiness of the Royal Family was cruelly broken in upon by the unexpected blow which struck down the Duke of Albany in the full prime of his early promise at Cannes. Two foreign princes have passed away whose deaths, unlike that of the Queen's youngest son, have set political speculation at work. The descent of the crown of the Netherlands on the decease of

the last Crown Prince of Orange has, indeed, been provided for by local legislation, and the succession to the Duchy of Brunswick has in like manner been pre-arranged, at least negatively, by the exclusion of the Duke of Cumberland, unless he consents to renounce his claim to Hanover in favour of Prussia.

Among public men at home the death of Mr. Fawcett was most widely and sincerely lamented. His manly independence of character, his intellectual honesty, his genial and kindly temper, and above all the simplicity, the dignity, and the patient courage with which he bore the disabilities and the disappointments of his blindness won for Mr. Fawcett a high place in the esteem of opponents as well as allies, and as Postmaster-General he had shown administrative ability of a high order.

In Lord Ampthill, British Ambassador at Berlin, this country lost one of the most accomplished of diplomatists, and in Sir Bartle Frere a striking example of that masterful and enterprising genius, too daring for the strict limitations of modern statesmanship, which is developed in the school of Indian and colonial government. The figure of Mr. Milner-Gibson, once a pillar, with Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, of the Manchester school, had almost faded out of the public memory when he died, and the same thing may be said of a more vigorous and healthy type of politician, Mr. Henley.

Among other deaths we may note those of the Duke of Buccleuch and the Duke of Wellington ; of Mr. Bass, the head of the great brewing firm, long known as one of the patriarchs of the House of Commons ; of Mr. Judah P. Benjamin, who, after a successful forensic and political career on the other side of the Atlantic, won when past middle life the very highest position at the English Bar as an advocate and an authority on commercial and international law ; of Mr. Charles Reade, a striking and original novelist ; of Mr. Abraham Hayward, a brilliant and entertaining essayist, even more famous for his powers of conversation and his wealth of anecdote ; of Mr. Thomas Cheshire, an eminent Oriental scholar, and for several years the editor of this journal ; of Mr. Horne and Mr. Calverley, both known as poets, though of very diverse gifts ; of Bishop Jacobson ; of Sir Alexander Grant, Principal of the University of Edinburgh ; of the Rev. Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford ; of Dr. Goodford, Provost of Eton ; of Sir Erasmus Wilson, professionally celebrated as a dermatolo-

gist, but popularly known by his munificent contribution to the cost of bringing Cleopatra's Needle to England ; of Sir Michael Costa, the composer ; and of Mr. H. J. Byron, one of the most prolific and successful of contemporary dramatists.

In France the deaths were recorded of M. Rouher, the once all-powerful Minister—the “Vice-Emperor,” as he was called—of Napoleon III. ; of M. Jean Baptiste Dumas, the distinguished chemist ; of M. Eugène Pelletan, a sincere and high-minded member of the Republican party in the Senate ; of M. Mignet, the historian and life-long friend of Thiers ; of M. Bastien Lepage, the artist ; and of M. Tissot, formerly Ambassador in London and Constantinople.

Germany lost Lasker, the Parliamentary orator ; Geibel, the poet ; Karl Hillebrand, the critic ; and Lepsius, the Egyptologist ; Austria, Hans Makart, the painter ; Italy, Quintino Sella, a statesman of high character and large experience ; Russia, General Todleben, the great engineer who defended Sebastopol against the Allies, and who, long afterwards, was Commander-in-Chief during the latter part of the war with Turkey.

In the obituary of the United States the most conspicuous name is that of Mr. Wendell Phillips, the Abolitionist, whose splendid gifts of oratory were wasted or turned to mischievous purposes in his declining years through an incurable incapacity in politics and a violently intolerant temper.

Among other persons worthy of note for various reasons who died during the past twelve months we may mention Midhat Pasha, once Prime Minister of the Sultan, but lately a prisoner of State ; Keshub Chunder Sen, the founder of the Brahmo-Somaj ; Cetywayo, the unfortunate Zulu King ; and Taglioni and Fanny Elssler, both among the most famous of opera-dancers.

## 1885

Not many of the years that have elapsed since the beginning of the century have been so thronged with great and pregnant events, at home and abroad, as that which has just closed. It has seen the entire reconstruction of the representative system of the United Kingdom on the basis of household suffrage in the counties as well as in the boroughs, and the consequent redistribution of political power, the development of the Secessionist movement in Ireland, the abandonment of the Crimes Act, and the revival of the tyranny of the National League, the downfall of Mr. Gladstone's Administration and the acceptance of office by Lord Salisbury, the oratorical campaign of the autumn, the pretensions of the Radical leaders to impose a Socialistic programme upon the Liberal party, the vicissitudes of the general election, and the attempt to put forward Home Rule for Ireland as a measure of constitutional reform favoured by the leader of one of the historic English parties.

The *dénouement* of the Egyptian tragedy, the negotiations with Russia upon the Afghan boundary dispute, and the re-opening of the Eastern question have kept public interest on the stretch from January to December. The dangers and difficulties in which the mother country seemed to be involved drew the colonists closer to her and to each other and quickened the spirit of imperial union, while the fidelity both of our fellow-subjects in India and of the feudatory Princes was attested by substantial proofs. Under the pressure of potent forces, against which a halting statesmanship protests and struggles in vain, the circle of Empire is ever widening. The establishment of one protectorate in Bechuanaland and of another over a large portion of New Guinea were concessions

to a forward policy which even Mr. Gladstone's Government could not refuse, and, for the first time since the retirement of Lord Dalhousie, the British dominions in India have been extended by the overthrow of Upper Burmah as an independent State.

In Germany the development of Prince Bismarck's conception of a Colonial Empire, though by no means abandoned, has been recently thrown into the shade by the struggle in the Balkan Peninsula, which has brought clearly into view the rival ambitions of Russia and Austria, and has cast doubts on the possibility of maintaining the *Dreikaiserbund*. In France a violent and abrupt reaction against the adventures into which M. Ferry had too lightly plunged in Tonquin and Madagascar precipitated the fall of his Government, and the general election which followed a few months later showed how deeply the Opportunists had been discredited, giving the Monarchist Conservatives a formidable minority in the Chamber and strengthening the Extreme Left. In Spain the death of King Alfonso seemed to place in jeopardy the restored Monarchy and has added to the anxieties of the statesmen of Europe.

Parliament had adjourned, after the arrangement between the two parties on the Franchise Bill and the Seats Bill, to the 19th of February, and during the interval the principal topics of discussion in domestic politics were the operations of the Boundary Commissioners, who had to work out the redistribution scheme, and the policy disclosed by Mr. Chamberlain in his speeches at Birmingham and Ipswich. The former proved to be chiefly of local interest, nor were the efforts of Mr. Courtney and Sir John Lubbock to raise a popular protest against the single-member system and to organise public opinion in favour of proportional representation in any appreciable degree successful. The enactment of the Redistribution Bill had come to be a foregone conclusion before Parliament met, and, in fact, many candidates on both sides had already begun to court the new constituencies.

The "new departure" in Liberal policy announced by Mr. Chamberlain was a far more serious matter. It was avowedly intended to appeal to the newly enfranchised masses, and proclaimed, with this object, doctrines and proposals repudiated down to that time by all responsible politicians, Liberal and Conservative. What "ransom," Mr. Chamberlain

asked, were the well-to-do classes prepared to pay to those who otherwise would "make short work" of private property? He disinterred the revolutionary doctrine of "natural rights," derived from the teachings of Rousseau, and claimed in principle, for every man, "an apportioned share in the great natural inheritance of the race," meaning the soil of the country. The "ransom"—or, as he afterwards phrased it, the "insurance"—which he proposed to exact from the owners of property and the thrifty contained many different elements, and was gradually developed,—free education, improved dwellings for the labouring classes at "fair rents," a Land Bill on the Irish model for the farmers, the purchase of land for allotments and the provision of free libraries and other advantages by local elected bodies at the charge of the rate-payers, and the abolition of indirect taxes.

Mr. Chamberlain also insisted that the country was bound to "find work and employment for our artisans at home," though little has since been heard of this particular loan from the armoury of Continental Socialism. Property was to contribute towards this re-endowment of natural rights through a system of graduated taxation and special burdens on land-owners, while, at the same time, it was threatened with "restitution" as well as "ransom," Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke warmly approving of Mr. Jesse Collings' proposal to set aside existing statutes of limitation and the doctrine of prescription, one of the first steps towards civilisation and settled law, by resuming possession of enclosed commons for the benefit, not of the commoners, but of the community. The resources, however, to be derived from the appropriation of the possession of the Established Church were the means to which the new school of Radicals mainly looked in forming their plans.

The Liberal party were fluttered by Mr. Chamberlain's bold attempt to place himself at the head of a separate movement, but, though several of the Parliamentary leaders deprecated alarm, and contended, with Mr. Trevelyan, that there was no reason to fear the success of projects of "confiscation and communism" with the new electorate, none of them, except Mr. Goschen, had the courage to record, at this stage, an emphatic and explicit protest against pretensions incompatible with the best traditions of English Liberalism. Just

before the meeting of Parliament Mr. Gladstone took occasion to strengthen his Government by admitting to the Cabinet Lord Rosebery, who had identified himself with an imperial as distinguished from an insular policy, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, who, if a Radical, was also an economist. But intestine contentions were for a time suspended while the disaster at Khartoum and the controversy with Russia absorbed the attention of Parliament and of the nation. The same causes, no doubt, contributed to help the Redistribution and Registration Bills through the House of Commons.

The most remarkable and ominous sign of what was coming was Mr. Parnell's frank statement of what he intended to work for and was confident of achieving after the admission of the new voters. The absolute *minimum* of the Irish demand, he declared, was the restoration of "Grattan's Parliament," but he could not promise that this would suffice ; "we have never attempted to fix the *ne plus ultra* of Ireland's nationhood, and we never shall." This defiance was accompanied by a denunciation of the Land Court and the judicial rents, and a significant eulogium on the National League, which Mr. Trevelyan, gulled by the adroit use of constitutional phrases, had allowed to grow up in the place and with all the powers of the Land League. On the subject of the dynamite outrages at the Tower and the Houses of Parliament, undoubtedly the work of Irish-American conspirators, Mr. Parnell was significantly silent.

The news that the Prince and Princess of Wales were to visit Ireland excited much attention and some adverse comment on both sides of St. George's Channel. The visit turned out a success, in spite of the fervid appeals of Mr. Sexton and the unmanly conduct of the municipal bodies ; the Loyalists of all creeds and classes united in welcoming the heir-apparent and his family, but, though the masses showed, on the whole, a better temper than their leaders, there was no sign of a friendlier disposition towards the English Government.

Mr. Parnell rigorously and effectually trampled upon every stirring of independence, and, as his supremacy became more manifest, it exercised a more powerful fascination over some keen partisans in England. The nearer the House of Commons drew to the completion of the task of reform, the more serious grew the indications that the renewal of the Crimes Act would not be opposed by the Parnellites alone. A section of Advanced

Liberals, of whom Mr. John Morley was the most conspicuous, denounced "exceptional legislation" as intolerable and impracticable, and Lord Randolph Churchill, with a certain following on the Conservative side, inclined to the same view. It soon came to be confidently rumoured that the Cabinet was unable to come to an agreement on the question of renewal, and it was affirmed that three Ministers, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, were ready to resign rather than consent to give Lord Spencer the powers he considered necessary for the preservation of order. Affairs were in this position, though an open rupture had been for the moment averted, when Mr. Gladstone's Government was defeated on the Budget proposals, and, after delays and negotiations which properly belong to the history of the Parliamentary session, Lord Salisbury accepted office.

The new Ministry came into power under many disadvantages, some of their own making. It was resolved, no doubt under Lord Randolph Churchill's impulsion, to try the experiment of ruling Ireland without exceptional powers. The attitude of the Radicals confirmed Ministers in this resolution. Mr. Chamberlain, the moment he was released from the trammels of office, had gone out of his way to find in the Government of Ireland, such as it had been during Lord Spencer's Viceroyalty and under Mr. Gladstone's responsibility, a degrading resemblance to Russian tyranny in Poland and Austrian tyranny in Venice. This was before the Conservatives had shown their hand, for afterwards the Radicals gave free expression to the just indignation which other people felt at Lord Spencer's treatment in the Maamtrasna debate, and which took shape formally in a banquet to the honour of the late Lord-Lieutenant, when representatives of all shades of Liberalism were present.

Lord Carnarvon too confidently declared that Ireland could be governed without other powers than those of the ordinary law, and his reception in the course of a tour throughout the island soon after the close of the session gave some encouragement to these fond hopes. Mr. Parnell and his friends, it is true, were as outspoken as ever, but it was clear that, while strengthening the organisation of the National League and declaring war against rent and landlords, they desired, till after the general election, to avoid a conflict with the law and to

repress outrages which would excite English opinion. At the same time, the projected visit to Ireland of Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, which had been announced as soon as Lord Salisbury came into office, was dropped in view of the open display of hostility to Liberal politicians on the part of the Separatist leaders.

The activity of mind and body which Mr. Gladstone had shown, principally in the Egyptian and Afghan debates, had been suspended after the resignation of his Government, owing to an affection of the throat and voice, which for the time withdrew the Liberal leader from Parliamentary life. He announced, however, in an address to the electors of Midlothian, his intention of again seeking their suffrages, considering that the decision of the new electorate involved a direct judgment upon his official conduct and his policy at the head of affairs. His attitude, meanwhile, towards the Conservative Ministry was dignified and tolerant, and, though Mr. Chamberlain exhausted the vocabulary of contemptuous invective in denouncing the "Cabinet of Caretakers," at the close of the session Lord Salisbury and his colleagues had distinctly gained ground. They had been fairly successful with legislation, and our foreign relations were put upon a better footing.

An interval of welcome respite from anxiety and agitation followed, but it was not of long duration. Mr. Chamberlain was the earliest and the most untiring in his efforts to kindle enthusiasm among the voters, old and new; he spoke with undisguised scorn of the commonplace measures of local self-government and so forth, which might "make the hot blood of a Whig course more rapidly through his veins," but would not touch the people; he met the expostulations and reserves of his moderate allies with sneers at "the political Rip van Winkle" and "the arm-chair politician," and, backed by the National Liberal Federation, the central convention of the Caucuses, he developed, in a series of speeches marked by increasing mastery of language and vigour of thought, the practical application of his "ransom" and "restitution" doctrines. His campaign, including a raid into Scotland, where he threw himself, at Glasgow, into the heart of the crofters' agitation, spread alarm among the Moderate Liberals; and he took a still more imprudent step at Bradford by putting for-

ward the demand for disestablishment. A very large proportion of the Liberal candidates, under pressure from the Liberation Society, gave more or less explicit pledges to vote against the connection of Church and State; and other extreme proposals embodied in *The Radical Programme*, a work recommended by Mr. Chamberlain and circulated by the National Liberal Federation, were adopted in as reckless a spirit.

It was time for Mr. Gladstone to intervene. Returning with reinvigorated health from a sea trip to Norway, he issued a long letter to his constituents, in which he traced the outlines of a modest and almost colourless policy, involving no issues likely to divide Liberals, and marking out a scheme of almost non-contentious legislation for the next Parliament. Local self-government, Parliamentary procedure, the cheapening of land transfer, the simplification of registration were not questions with which the Conservatives could be pronounced either unwilling or unable to deal. Mr. Gladstone's treatment of the more drastic projects of the Radicals was eminently opportunist. He threw cold water on the free education scheme, pointed out the objections to graduated taxation, hinted at the difficulties in the way of abolishing the House of Lords, and, looking on disestablishment as a remote issue, refused to speculate on "the dim and distant courses of the future."

This manifesto failed to produce the effect intended. The divisions in the Liberal ranks were no longer to be glossed over. Lord Hartington laboured industriously to show that Mr. Gladstone's "four points" afforded ample ground on which to fight, and objected to have "measures of a Socialistic tendency" grafted on the old Liberal creed. Lord Rosebery besought all Liberals to unite "under Mr. Gladstone's umbrella." But the task of defending sound Liberal principles fell mainly on Mr. Goschen, who was opposed as a candidate for the Eastern Division of Edinburgh by an avowed adherent of Mr. Chamberlain and nominee of the Caucus. Both in Scotland and in England, Mr. Goschen, while maintaining his position as a Liberal and not concealing his distrust of Lord Salisbury, exposed, in a series of powerful speeches, the economical and political vices of what had come to be known as Mr. Chamberlain's "unauthorised programme." The latter did not decline the

conflict. He held up Mr. Goschen to ridicule as "the Egyptian skeleton" of the Liberal party, and insisted on his schemes of graduated taxation, free education, and the provision of land for allotments by local elected bodies, declaring that since the old economic system had failed to abolish poverty, its advocates were bound to "stand aside" while other methods got a trial. It was noted by those skilled in political meteorology that Sir William Harcourt conspicuously attached himself to Mr. Chamberlain.

In the meantime the Conservatives were not idle. Lord Randolph Churchill, who had measured himself against Mr. Bright as candidate in the Central Division of Birmingham, entered on a vigorous campaign, chiefly selecting Mr. Chamberlain's policy for attack, but also recalling to the memory of the people with considerable effect the miscarriages of Mr. Gladstone's Government in dealing with foreign affairs. Lord Salisbury, soon after Mr. Gladstone's manifesto appeared, took the opportunity at Newport of defining his own position, analysing the disagreements in the Liberal camp, showing how he had been able to conduct the business of the country successfully at home and abroad, declaring his readiness to bring in well-considered measures of reform in relation to local government and land transfer, but announcing the intention of the Conservative party to resist to the utmost the threatened assault on the Church.

Both Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill invited the co-operation of the Moderate Liberals in withstanding the destructive schemes of Radicalism. Their invitations were repelled by Lord Hartington and by Mr. Goschen, partly on the ground of their attitude towards the Parnellites, but still more on account of their coquetry with the so-called fair trade policy. The Royal Commission over which Lord Iddesleigh presided did little to realise the hopes fostered among the ignorant when its appointment was announced in Parliament. With very few exceptions Liberals and professed economists refused to take part in its proceedings, while the Chambers of Commerce and other bodies representing English business men in many cases met its "fishing" inquiries with a snub.

The Irish difficulty was no longer to be concealed or evaded. Lord Salisbury and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach strove to make out that the state of the country under Lord Carnarvon con-

trusted favourably with the results of Lord Spencer's rule, but the logic of facts became too strong for them, and extorted the declaration that if the ordinary law were found to be inadequate the Government would appeal to Parliament for exceptional powers. The despotism of the National League, carried out by a stringent system of boycotting, was openly enforced, with the double object of reducing the value of land by "freeing the peasant from the fetters of rent" and of compelling the Loyalists to submission in view of the coming elections. Isolated and ineffectual attempts were made to set bounds to this tyranny by prosecutions and exacting securities for good behaviour, but with the prospect of trial before sympathetic juries this expedient was of no avail. As was foreseen when the Crimes Act was dropped, advantage was taken of the agricultural depression to demand a general reduction of rents, including those fixed by the Land Courts, and boycotting was reinforced by outrages, which even the influence of the Separatist leaders was unable to prevent. An attack on Mr. Hussey's house near Killarney was followed by the murder, near Listowel, of a farmer named Curtin, who had bravely resisted a "moonlighters'" raid for arms.

Mr. Parnell's organs urged on the landlords and the Loyalists the necessity of submission ; tempting them with the lure of an abolition of mortgages and other charges, but the bait did not take. The Cork Defence Union, in which the victims of boycotting, landlords and tenants, combined to protect themselves, arranged to send cattle direct to English markets by the Cork Steamship Company, which was at once boycotted by the Cattle Dealers' Association. The refusal of the company to break the law by declining to ship the Defence Union's cattle has been punished, with the approval and aid of the National League, by an effort to divert trade to other channels. An organisation, the "Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union," sinking party distinctions of Whig and Tory, was formed, though without any hope of success, to contest seats in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught against the Parnellite candidates, who had expected a "walk over."

Mr. Parnell, drawing encouragement not only from the timidity of Lord Carnarvon's administration, but from advances on the other side—Mr. Chamberlain's offer of a system of National Councils, Mr. Childers' proposal to hand over the

police in Ireland to local elected boards, and Sir Charles Dilke's scheme of local government starting with the revival of the open vestry—reaffirmed his original position, refusing even to modify the claim of an Irish Legislature to impose protective duties, which had shocked English Radicalism. Anticipating his return to Westminster with from eighty to ninety followers, he announced that he would not allow any Government to carry on public business until it had dealt with the Irish demand, and this challenge was at once taken up by Mr. Gladstone in his first Midlothian speech, when he appealed to the country to give him an overwhelming Liberal majority, so that he might maintain the unity of the Empire against its avowed enemies.

This important declaration, according precedence to the Irish question, diminished the importance of the Hawarden manifesto, and, though Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Gladstone himself attempted to show that the "four points" only were before the country, the area of controversy was irresistibly widened. Mr. Chamberlain, in his address to the electors of the Western Division of Birmingham, omitted, significantly, to mention Mr. Gladstone's manifesto, or even his name. The alarm taken by the friends of the Church at Mr. Chamberlain's Bradford speech, the boasts of the Liberation Society, and the issue of the "Radical Programme" with the authority of the Radical leader and of the National Liberal Federation gave prominence to the disestablishment question, and elicited a remarkable protest, insisting on the urgency of Church Defence, which was signed by many Whig Peers and many other eminent Liberals, including the Dukes of Westminster and Bedford, Lord Selborne, Lord Grey, Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Fortescue, Lord Penzance, Lord Ebury, and Mr. Thomas Hughes. Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, Lord Granville, and Lord Derby assured Liberal Churchmen that there was no immediate wish to raise the question, and even Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. John Morley, and the leaders of the Liberationists were eager to make known that its postponement was deemed expedient.

But no assurances were forthcoming going beyond the term of the new Parliament, which, in the opinion of experts on both sides, was likely to be a short one. Mr. Gladstone personally found the question complicated with the question of

disestablishment in Scotland, which had been more vigorously pushed, having to deal, on the one hand, with the active abolitionists, and, on the other, with a strong and determined body of Liberals attached to the Kirk, regarded as it was by them as one of the great historic conquests of Liberalism. Mr. Gladstone, followed in this by Lord Rosebery, Mr. Goschen, and others, could only promise to comply with the deliberate expression of the will of Scotland, which he refused to find in the present election, though, at the last moment, he made an impassioned appeal to Scotch Liberals not to divide the party on such an issue.

Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian speeches, and the Parnellite manifesto to the Irish electors in Great Britain calling on them to support the Conservative candidates against the Liberals, except in a few specially reserved cases, closed the campaign. Parliament was dissolved by proclamation on the 18th of November, and the contested borough elections began on the 24th. They showed throughout remarkable gains for the Conservatives. In the metropolitan boroughs twenty-five Liberals were returned against thirty-seven Conservatives ; in Liverpool the return was eight Conservatives and one Nationalist ; in Manchester, five Conservatives and one Liberal ; in Leeds, three Conservatives and two Liberals ; in Sheffield, three Conservatives and two Liberals. Birmingham remained faithful to the Liberal cause, sending to Parliament seven Liberals, though Lord Randolph Churchill, who was afterwards returned for South Paddington, ran Mr. Bright close, and the total Conservative poll showed an enormous increase on 1880.

In the towns of the second rank the Liberals did better, but even there they hardly held their own, and in the smaller boroughs they were routed. Scotland and Wales redressed the balance, though the Conservative minorities exhibited an ominous increase. Glasgow sent seven Liberals to Parliament, but the aggregate Conservative vote was 26,000 against a Liberal vote of 32,000, while in Edinburgh, though four Liberals were returned, Mr. Goschen and Sir George Harrison defeated the nominees of the Caucus. The earliest county elections seemed to show that the new electors were going the same way ; after three days' polling the Conservatives had gained thirty-nine seats and the Liberals thirty-three. The agricultural constituencies, however, had been attracted by Mr. Chamberlain's

"ransom" doctrine, which obtained popular currency as "three acres and a cow," and except around London and in Lancashire the counties in the main returned Liberals, reversing the verdict of the urban voters, and giving Mr. Gladstone, with the aid of Scotland and Wales, a considerable majority over Lord Salisbury in Great Britain.

Ireland remained to be taken into account; the terrorism of the League suppressed freedom of speech and voting in the three southern provinces, where the Loyalist candidates, except in the city of Dublin, made no real fight. In Ulster the Conservatives secured all the seats that were not won by the Separatists, and not one Liberal was returned from the whole of Ireland. In the new House of Commons there will be 333 Liberals, 251 Conservatives, and 86 Parnellites. Twelve members of Mr. Gladstone's Administration, including two of Cabinet rank, Mr. Childers and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, were left out in the cold—a disaster without precedent—and four of Lord Salisbury's colleagues met with the same fate.

Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir William Harcourt set at once about proving that the result of the elections was really a Liberal triumph, though it left the Liberals without a majority in the House of Commons. But the truth became apparent when, despite Mr. Gladstone's wrath at the supposed Tory-Parnellite alliance and his appeal for power to meet Mr. Parnell's tactics effectively, it was made known that he had determined to concede the principle of Home Rule. The "authenticity" of these rumours has been denied on Mr. Gladstone's behalf, but it is not doubted, nor has it been in fact disputed, that Mr. Gladstone would be willing to grant a Parliament to Ireland, subject to some formal guarantees. Lord Hartington has stated that no such scheme has been submitted to him, and it may be inferred that he would not approve of anything so clearly contradictory of public pledges to which he has reaffirmed his adhesion. Mr. Forster and Mr. Goschen have in plain terms repudiated the policy of Home Rule. Even Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke have shown a significant reserve in treating proposals which have been sprung upon the country without notice, and were not before the electors during the recent contest.

It is felt that if those who are now arguing in favour of turning the Liberal minority into a majority by a junction

with the Parnellites had declared for an Irish Parliament before the elections, they would in all probability have been rejected. The attraction, however, of the Parnellite phalanx for politicians unfettered by scruples has been greatly increased, not only by the defeats of the Irish Loyalists, but by the alliance concluded between the Roman Catholic Church and the Separatists. The efforts made by the late Government, through Sir George Errington's influence at the Vatican, to prevent the appointment of Dr. Walsh, a pronounced Nationalist, as Archbishop of Dublin, were not successful, and Dr. Walsh has since placed the management of the Education question and other ecclesiastical interests in Mr. Parnell's hands, giving him in return all the support of the Church.

It can hardly be doubted that the miscarriages of the Foreign and Colonial Offices under Mr. Gladstone contributed as largely to the Liberal disasters as the revolt against Mr. Chamberlain, the alarms of Churchmen, or the Irish vote. Early in the year a series of blundering controversies with Germany were brought to light in official publications abroad and at home, which showed a failure on Lord Granville's part to understand or to come to an understanding with Prince Bismarck on the ground of his new colonial policy. Having dallied with the Australian claims to New Guinea, Lord Derby and Lord Granville were "quite unprepared," as they naïvely admitted, for the German annexation of the north coast; and the assumption of authority over the south coast did not satisfy the colonists, who considered themselves, according to our Melbourne correspondent, "deceived and betrayed."

The same dawdling policy led to similar results in West and South Africa. After full notice on the German side and inexplicable delays on the English side, the acquisitions of German subjects near Angra Pequena and Wallfisch Bay were recognised, and German protection was solicited for British trade. In the Cameroons the same *laches* allowed Dr. Nachtigal to establish a German protectorate over the native chiefs, who had been eager to secure English protection. Fortunately, an actual collision was avoided, and public opinion compelled Lord Granville and Lord Derby to act with more promptitude and vigour, opportunely asserting our rights over St. Lucia Bay on the East and over the trade of the Niger on the West, and repelling dangerous pretensions to interference with

British commerce put forward at the Congo Conference at Berlin. The recognition of the Congo State, even with the possibility of a reversion to France, was not seriously contested.

In Egypt the English power was sufficiently active, if activity only was desired, at the beginning of the year. Lord Wolseley's Expedition up the Nile for the relief of Khartoum had reached Korti, whence an advance across the desert to Metammeh and along the river to Abu Hamad and Berber was planned. Sir Herbert Stewart, making a gallant dash for the first of these objects, encountered the Mahdi's forces at Abu Klea, defeating and driving them back, though not without heavy loss, and then pushing forward to the river bank at Gubat, almost within striking distance of Khartoum. At Abu Kru, near Gubat, Sir Herbert Stewart again fought and conquered, but his small force was weakened and he was himself wounded—as it turned out, mortally. Sir Charles Wilson, who took the command, was met by Gordon's steamers, which had come down the Nile to seek the long-expected aid; after a short delay, which became the subject of an angry controversy, he proceeded to Khartoum by river, arriving on the 28th of January, when he found that the city had fallen two days before, that Gordon was probably dead—though the details of his death did not become known till later—and that the city was in the hands of the Mahdi. On Sir Charles Wilson's return his steamers met with disaster, but he was rescued, with conspicuous gallantry and resource, by Lord Charles Beresford, and reached Gubat in safety.

Meanwhile General Earle's column had marched by the river route, defeating the Arabs in a brilliant engagement at Kirbekan, where General Earle lost his life, the command passing to General Brackenbury, who advanced steadily on Abu Hamad. But orders to retreat quickly brought back the troops on both lines. The instructions for concentration at Korti were accompanied with the announcement that in the autumn the Mahdi was to be "smashed" at Khartoum, that Dongola was to be held, and that General Graham, with 9000 men, some Indian troops, and an Australian Contingent, was to grapple with Osman Digma on the Red Sea coast, opening up the route from Suakin to Berber and laying down a railway. These operations were partially carried out at great cost; railway plant was brought from England, a few miles of line were

laid down, and General Graham's troops again proved their quality by repeatedly routing the Arabs, though the night attack on the zariba held by Sir John M'Neill's command showed a lack of vigilance too closely resembling the Isandlana disaster.

The necessity of providing against an impending war with Russia was put forward by the Government as the reason for a sudden change of plans. In April Lord Wolseley was informed that the policy of smashing the Mahdi at Khartoum had been abandoned, and that the British forces must be withdrawn to Wady Halfa, surrendering to the enemy even the faithful province of Dongola. To the remonstrances of Lord Wolseley against this course, backed on several points by Sir Evelyn Baring, Nubar Pasha, and General Stephenson, the Government turned a deaf ear. The Suakin railway was given up, and the material brought back to England ; while, following the precedent of 1884, the greater part of General Graham's force was withdrawn, a small garrison being left at the port.

The danger of Arab aggression in these circumstances was sufficiently serious ; when the Conservatives came into power it was found that the civil population had been removed from Dongola to Lower Egypt, leaving neither stores nor supplies requisite for the maintenance of a permanent garrison. It was resolved, however, to hold the river as far as Akasheh, the present terminus of the Nile railway. The attitude of the Arabs was frequently threatening, though a respite was secured by the Mahdi's death, and Suakin was relieved from pressure by Osman Digma's ill-fortune in a campaign against the Abyssinian army, under Ras Alula, despatched to the rescue of the beleaguered Egyptians at Kassala. Towards the close of the year the British positions beyond Assouan were again attacked. General Stephenson hastened in person to the front with all the troops available, and on the last day but one of December gave battle to the Soudanese collected near Koskeh with complete success, occupying their entrenchments at Ginniss, and pursuing their retreat with his cavalry. It may be hoped that the security of Lower Egypt is thus assured.

The relations of the British Government with Egypt were kept in a doubtful state by the financial difficulty and the interference of the Powers. Mr. Gladstone had induced Parliament last spring to accept, as a matter of extreme urgency, the Convention agreed on with the Powers, by which the loan

of £9,000,000 required for the payment of the Alexandria indemnities and the restoration of the equilibrium was to be issued under an international guarantee. But as soon as England had thus tied her hands, the European Governments seemed in no haste to take up their obligations. Some postponed the matter indefinitely, others apparently thought of repudiating it altogether. Though in the *Bosphore Egyptien* affair England and Egypt made amends handsomely to France for a technical error, the spirit of French policy remained as unfriendly as ever. When the change of Government took place, the delay in the issue of the loan had brought Egypt, after exhausting every temporary expedient, within sight of bankruptcy. Lord Salisbury was able to conciliate the goodwill of the Powers, and, by making arrangements for placing the stock on the Continental as well as the London market, to expedite the issue of the loan and relieve the Egyptian Government from the most urgent demands.

The objects of the special mission on which Sir Henry Drummond Wolff was despatched were not discussed in Parliament, but it soon became evident that the measure was connected with the political rather than the financial situation. The co-operation of Turkey was needed to legitimatise and give a peculiar authority to the English position in Egypt, and, as the Sultan was eager to obtain a formal recognition of his rights, which, though never annulled, had been in fact set aside, an agreement did not seem impracticable. Sir Henry Wolff's diplomatic tact and his patience in dealing with Ottoman dilatoriness were powerfully aided by the reopening of the Bulgarian question, and were at length rewarded by the adoption of a Convention which practically gave England the right to control administration in Egypt with the Sultan's authority, which neither Mohamedan rebels nor obstructive officials would find it easy to withstand. Mukhtar Pasha has, after considerable delay, been sent from Constantinople as Sir Henry Wolff's colleague, and it is hoped that his influence may be employed to abate the troubles on the Soudan frontier. Unfortunately, Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian address embraced a pledge to put an end as soon as possible to the English occupation, and this disturbing element has lost none of its gravity since the indecisive result of the general election.

The Afghan controversy, which for a time overshadowed the

Egyptian question, had scarcely become known to the public when Parliament met. The agreement between England and Russia for the delimitation of the frontier eastward from Sarakhs was suspended by the delay of General Zelenoy, the Russian Commissioner, in joining Sir Peter Lumsden and his staff, while the mission of M. Lessar to London, with a view to changing the basis of negotiation, the Russian claim to Penjdeh, and the advance of General Komaroff's force to the very positions in dispute, rapidly altered the relations of the two Powers. The visit of the Ameer Abdurrahman to Lord Dufferin, at Rawul Pindi, was looked on throughout Asia as a pledge that no more demands for doing right to the Afghans would be allowed "to lapse," but few were prepared for the Russian counter-move, General Komaroff's slaughter of the Afghan soldiery on the Kushk, and his clearing them out of the Penjdeh oasis. The indignation with which this outrage was received in the House of Commons, the appeal to the "sacred covenant," the vote of credit of £11,000,000, and the sudden descent to a proposal for arbitration on a point which few besides Mr. Gladstone regarded as of the smallest importance, made up one of the most painful chapters in the history of Parliament.

But peace was not finally purchased by concession. The surrender of Penjdeh to Russia, which was justified by the Ameer's communications with Lord Dufferin, was ratified in consideration of the recognition of the right of the Afghans to possess the Zulfikar Pass. As soon as the arbitration was agreed on, the meaning of the other portion of the bargain began to be contested; Russia, through M. Lessar, claimed to retain positions which would practically have given her the command of the pass, on the ground that they were necessary to secure her troops free passage and access to water within her new limits. Sir Peter Lumsden, whose recall from the Afghan border was interpreted abroad as a triumph for General Komaroff and was much criticised at home, had not disguised his disapproval of the manner in which the Penjdeh incident had been dealt with by Mr. Gladstone's Government, but his advice was, nevertheless, taken on the Zulfikar question, which was known to be considered of vital importance by the Ameer and the Viceroy of India.

It was decided by Lord Granville that the strict performance of the Russian engagement must be insisted upon, and, Russia

still refusing to yield, the point remained unsettled when Lord Salisbury went to the Foreign Office. After some further fencing on the Russian side, a modification of the boundary was suggested—with the approval of Lord Dufferin, Sir Peter Lumsden, and Sir West Ridgeway, the officer in charge of the frontier survey—which secured the Afghans the complete command of the pass and its approaches, while giving the Russians the road at the foot of the hills. The arrangement has been accepted on both sides as final, and the work of delimitation is now being carried out, though, at the last moment, further disputes have arisen about the boundaries eastward. Even Mr. Gladstone has ceased to affect an interest in the Penjdeh arbitration, and the King of Denmark, the chosen umpire, has made award.

It is not, however, questioned in India that Herat has been gravely endangered by the advance of the Russians on the Heri-rud and the Kushk. English influence and Afghan independence alike received a heavy blow from General Komaroff on the 30th of March. The Government of India hastened to make provision against the peril ; active preparations were undertaken for a movement in force on Candahar ; assurances of loyalty were given by all classes of the people, and the native Princes, Hindoo and Mussulman, promptly came forward with offers of aid in men and money. When the immediate risk of a rupture with Russia was removed, the need for permanent measures of precaution was recognised. The army was strengthened and the Quetta railway, which had been abandoned in 1881, was resumed and rapidly pushed forward. In the first place Lord Kimberley, and afterwards Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill, with the concurrence of Mr. Gladstone himself, publicly declared that India could no longer trust to understandings or even treaties on the Afghan frontier, but must be in a position to act at once, on the defensive or offensive, should danger threaten from the North-West. This policy has since been steadily pursued, and the appointment of Sir Frederick Roberts, in succession to Sir Donald Stewart, as Commander-in-Chief in India, has been welcomed as a proof that all that energy and skill can do to make the frontier safe and to keep disquieting elements at a distance will be done.

The distractions of the Afghan trouble probably delayed the settlement of a long-standing account with the King of Burmah, whose half-crazy, half-drunken tyranny had been a scandal and

a menace to his neighbours, and especially to British Burmah. The question assumed a more serious aspect, in view of the activity of the French on the other side of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, when Thebaw's exactions and cruelties were complicated with an intrigue to secure to French speculators the control of the resources of the country. It was foreseen that this project, if allowed to succeed, would give opportunity for the intervention of France in territory lying between the frontiers of India and China, and would result, even if nothing worse happened, in the exclusion of British trade from Burmese, and, indeed, Chinese markets, the importance of which was shown to be fully realised in France by the report of a Committee of the Chamber on the draft of a commercial treaty obtained by M. Haas, the French Consular Agent at Mandalay. A direct attack by Thebaw on the interests of British subjects in Burmah, invalidating the contract made with the Bombay Burmah Trading Company and imposing a ruinous fine, was clearly connected with a monopoly obtained by M. Haas for a French Syndicate, which the Government at Paris subsequently refused to support.

Mr. Bernard, the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, at once entered an energetic protest, and Lord Dufferin, to whom the decision in the matter was wisely left by the home Government, resolved to send an ultimatum to Mandalay, demanding the removal of the impediments to British trade and the acceptance of a British Resident to direct and control Burmese policy. If no satisfactory answer was returned by a fixed date, an expedition organised under General Prendergast's command was to start at once, with orders to treat only in the capital. Thebaw at first attempted evasion, and then sent an insolent refusal to treat, relying on some vague hopes of European aid. While negotiations and preparations were proceeding, the question was much discussed at home and in India whether a protectorate or annexation were the preferable course, for on all hands it was admitted that Burmah could no longer be allowed to be independent. Lord Ripon favoured the former alternative, but the weight of authority was for the latter. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State kept their own counsel.

General Prendergast's operations were completely successful. After crossing the frontier at the appointed time, the flotilla advancing with the troops up the Irrawaddy met with some

resistance at the Minhla forts, but the Burmese were easily overthrown and made no further stand. Thebaw's appeal for an armistice was refused till General Prendergast had entered Mandalay ; the Ava forts were surrendered and the capital was placed in the hands of the British. Thebaw's deposition was at once announced, and he was sent with his family to Madras. It was found that the threatened massacre of Europeans had not been generally carried out, though some *employés* of the Trading Company were murdered high up the river, but the civil administration of the country, disturbed by robber gangs and disbanded soldiers, presents many difficulties.

The attention of Russia has lately been diverted from the Afghan question, and the pressure on India has consequently been relieved by events in Eastern Europe. The main object of Prince Bismarck's Continental policy has been to maintain the alliance of the three Empires, and to this end he was willing to encourage, or at least not to discourage, Russian ambitions in Asia. The bond appeared to be more closely drawn than ever after the meeting in the summer between the Austrian and Russian sovereigns at Kremsier, though differences between Vienna and Berlin on the tariff question and the expulsion of Poles, Russian and Austrian subjects, from the Eastern provinces of Prussia produced not a little tension. There had been signs of restlessness among the subjects of the Porte in Macedonia and Albania, and the Montenegro boundary was still unsettled, but few supposed that peace was in danger, or that the Treaty of Berlin was likely to be for the present disturbed. Suddenly Europe was startled by the news that a revolutionary movement had overthrown Gavril Pasha's Government at Philippopolis, and that the union of Eastern Roumelia to Bulgaria, which the popular voice had decreed, had been accepted by Prince Alexander, who hastened from Sofia to take possession of his new province.

The Porte, following the advice of the Ambassadors of the great Powers, determined not to act precipitately. At St. Petersburg and Berlin, as well as, after some hesitation, at Vienna, the *coup d'état* was condemned ; but in England, France, and Italy general sympathy was felt, by Liberals and Conservatives alike, with a movement to which the political objections existing in 1878 had disappeared. Servia and Greece at once put forward a claim to be compensated for the

disturbance of the equilibrium by the Bulgarian union, and it seemed that Macedonia was about to be attacked. The Turks, however, availed themselves of the delay and hesitation at Belgrade and Athens, and with more than usual promptitude brought up troops from Asia Minor in sufficient strength to give their enemies pause. The German, Austrian, and Russian Governments united in proposing a Conference of the great Powers at Constantinople to consider the situation with the object of restoring the *status quo ante*, in which, after some negotiation, England, France, and Italy agreed to take part. Lord Salisbury's frank declaration that no settlement could be regarded as permanent which sought to perpetuate the separation of the two Bulgarian provinces against the will of the inhabitants was approved by English opinion and endorsed by his principal opponent.

When the Conference met, it was found that no agreement on the basis of the *status quo* was possible ; and in Russia Lord Salisbury and Sir William White, our able representative, were violently assailed for obstructing the will of Europe. But events were working in favour of Lord Salisbury's policy. Servia, abandoning her pretensions to North-Western Macedonia, turned for compensation where, it was thought, less resistance could be offered, and menaced Bulgaria with attack, encouraged not only by Austrian patronage and assistance, but by the rancour exhibited in Russia, and to some extent in Germany, against Prince Alexander, whose deposition had been advocated in high quarters, and whom the Czar summarily deprived of his honorary rank in the Russian army. The pacific overtures of the Bulgarian Government were spurned, and King Milan declared war on his neighbour, anticipating an easy march to Sofia. At first the Servian successes seemed to confirm this confidence. The Widdin district was occupied, and an advance in three columns on Sofia was apparently irresistible, when Prince Alexander turned the tide of fortune by his spirit and generalship at Slivnitza, where the Servian centre was repulsed, and had to retreat with loss through the Dragoman Pass. This was followed up by other victories, the Bulgarians being roused to great enthusiasm, and showing excellent soldierly qualities. Prince Alexander crossed the Servian frontier, advancing on and capturing Pirot. The Bulgarian victories proved that it would neither be safe nor practicable to insist on restoring the *status quo*.

The Conference, which had been adjourned during the clash of arms, was not resumed. A suspension of hostilities was enforced by a threat of Austrian intervention, and, after some fencing with the inevitable, the Powers agreed that a settlement must be sought substantially on the basis of recognising Bulgarian unity. A Military Commission appointed by the Powers has arranged for the evacuation by the belligerents of Widdin on the one side and Pirot on the other, and for the continuation of the armistice till March.

France, though she has lately supported the English policy, has not been an active factor in the Eastern question. Her schemes of colonial adventure have crippled her. M. Ferry's Government, though apparently without any competitors to dread, was undermined at the beginning of the year by public impatience at the desultory operations against China in Tonquin and Formosa, which, instead of terrifying the Chinese, incited them to renew the war. At the end of March a large Chinese army attacked and routed General Négrier, recapturing Langson, and compelling the French Commander-in-Chief to telegraph urgently for reinforcements, with a not too confident hope that meanwhile he might be able to "hold the Delta."

There was a furious explosion of popular wrath in Paris, and M. Ferry, applying to the Chamber for a vote of credit of 200,000,000 of francs, was defeated by 308 votes against 161. His resignation was followed by an interregnum; many proposed Ministerial combinations broke down, but at last M. Brisson, President of the Chamber, was able to form a Cabinet, with M. de Freycinet as Minister for Foreign Affairs. M. Ferry had already arranged the preliminaries of peace, though the fact was not known, and President Grévy concluded the business, which the Chinese had placed in the hands of Sir R. Hart, of the Imperial Customs, before the new Ministers entered on their duties. China recognised the protectorate claimed by France over Annam as well as the possession of Tonquin, but the practical difficulties were not removed; the delimitation of the frontier has not yet been carried out, the Annamese are turbulent, native Christians have been massacred, and the "Black Flags" give the French incessant trouble even in the neighbourhood of the Delta. M. Ferry was not rehabilitated by the peace with China, though it saved him from the extinction which is the usual fate of defeated Ministers in France.

M. Brisson's Ministry has been cautious and uneventful. The approach of the general election—the first under the revived *scrutin de liste*—paralysed political activity. The feud between the Opportunists and the Radicals grew more bitter as the campaign went on. M. Clémenceau accentuated his opinions, while the Ministerialists and M. Ferry raised their bids for the Radical vote. The Conservative instincts of the peasantry took alarm at undisguised attacks on religion and property, and the earlier elections showed a decided reaction, the Monarchists, united for belligerent purposes, carrying 187 seats, and both sections of the Republicans only 136. Before the second ballots came on the Republicans waived their differences and closed their ranks, securing a decisive victory. Still the new Chamber was composed of some 200 Conservatives, 230 Opportunists, and 150 Radicals. M. Floquet, who had succeeded M. Brisson in the chair, was re-elected President. The majority have lately been busy invalidating the Conservative returns, and threatening all sorts of vengeance for the perversity of the voters. M. Ferry's colonial policy has been condemned beyond reprieve ; the demands of the Generals in Tonquin for reinforcements are impatiently received.

In the course of the Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the war scandalous charges have been bandied about by officers of high rank, exceeding even the bluntness of the late Admiral Courbet's accusations against the Government, which played an important part in the election campaign. Two Committees of the Chamber recently reported in favour of cutting down the Tonquin and Madagascar Credits, and of bringing the operations in both cases to an early close. The opportune news of a peace concluded with the Hovas on favourable terms saved the Government from defeat, and even the Tonquin Credits were voted, though by a bare majority. The expiration of M. Grévy's term as President rendered a Congress of both Chambers necessary to fill the vacancy. Though opposition was threatened and attempted, there was really no competitor in the field, and M. Grévy was re-elected by an overwhelming majority. M. Brisson, however, has tendered his resignation, and the immediate course of French politics remains far from clear.

The colonial policy of Prince Bismarck has been more fortunate than that of M. Ferry, though it has involved troublesome disputes, not only with England, but with Spain. The

occupation of one of the Caroline Islands, near the Philippines, by Germany excited Spanish feeling to the pitch of madness. The Spanish claim to the islands was unsupported by recent possession, and had been contested by England as well as Germany. Prince Bismarck, however, had no wish to drive matters to extremity, seeing that King Alfonso was in the hands of politicians who, Liberals and Conservatives alike, had lost their heads.

The same levity that had been displayed in the repudiation of the commercial understanding with this country was again shown, both by Señor Canovas and Señor Sagasta, when the masses needed firm guidance to save them from the miseries of an unequal war, while the King, though in rapidly failing health, exhibited as much coolness and courage as when he visited the victims of the cholera epidemic. Arbitration was suggested by Germany, and when Spanish heat cooled down the Pope was accepted by both parties as umpire. Though his decision was favourable to Spain, its announcement was scarcely noticed, for the death of the King, at the age of twenty-eight, leaving as his heir a daughter of five years old, under the regency of her mother, Queen Christina, once more seemed to imperil the fortunes of the Monarchy. A Liberal Cabinet was formed by Señor Sagasta, with General Jovellar as Minister of War, and strenuous efforts have been made to unite men of all parties in support of the throne. Don Carlos has appealed to the Reactionists, and Señor Ruiz Zorrilla to the Revolutionists, but as yet without effect.

Italy, by comparison with her neighbours, has enjoyed the happiness of having almost no history. The temptation of a colonial policy led the Italians into some rather spasmodic essays, encouraged by Mr. Gladstone, to establish themselves on the Red Sea coast, but the experiment has not been popular, and probably contributed to the check of the Depretis Cabinet, which was followed by resignation and reconstruction. In Denmark the constitutional tension between King and Parliament has not been abated, and has led to some ominous outbreaks of violence.

The United States have been tranquil during the year, and have felt something like a revival of commercial prosperity. The transfer of the Federal Government from the Republican to the Democratic party was quietly carried out, and President

Cleveland has fairly justified the hopes founded on his honesty of purpose and firmness. His Cabinet has proved a strong one ; Mr. Bayard, the Secretary of State, has shown conspicuous courage and dignity in the conduct of foreign affairs, especially in dealing with the protests of the American-Irish against interference with the dynamite party and their schemes. The necessity for the intervention of the United States in Central America, where Guatemala under President Barrios had endeavoured to coerce and annex Nicaragua, San Salvador, and Honduras, was demanded in the interests of the proposed Canal, but the necessity was averted by the defeat and death of Barrios.

On the whole, Mr. Cleveland's exercise of his patronage has been creditable ; removals from office on political grounds have been few, and the spoils' system, much to the disgust of many Democrats, has been practically abandoned. Some changes have been inevitable, among them the resignation by Mr. Lowell of the London Mission, which has been felt with a sense of personal loss by great numbers of Englishmen, though his successor, Mr. Phelps, has already won esteem and confidence on his own account.

The goodwill and the fairness of the American people were tested during the painful trial to which Canada was exposed in the spring, when Riel, the pardoned author of the Red River rebellion, in suppressing which Lord Wolseley won his spurs, raised the half-breeds and the Indians in the North-West Territory against the Government. The unfortunate settlers, who were unable to escape in the rigorous winter weather, were given over to rapine, outrage, and massacre. The Dominion Ministry acted with promptitude and energy, and a considerable force was collected beyond Winnipeg under General Middleton, but operations were delayed by the snow and the spring floods, and Riel, with his savage allies, seemed confident that the troops would be worn out and cut off in detail. General Middleton, however, was steadily successful ; Riel and his half-breeds and desperate refugees from the States were beaten and finally captured, and the insurgent Indian chiefs submitted or were hunted down. Much excitement was caused among the French Canadians by the trial and conviction of Riel, whose treason was blackened by complicity in acts of massacre. An appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy

Council on technical grounds, and also alleging that Riel was of unsound mind, was rejected after a careful hearing, and the Dominion Government had the courage to carry out the sentence of death in spite of threats and violence in Montreal and other Lower Canadian towns. The turbulence of this part of the population was further shown when a serious outbreak of smallpox led to the enforcement of a compulsory vaccination law, Montreal being endangered by a series of shameful riots, fomented, it was said, by French Communists.

The vigour shown by the Canadians in grappling with the rebellion in the North-West has been matched in Australia by the spontaneous offers of assistance to the mother country during the Egyptian and Russian troubles. Though the New South Wales contingent was the only one which actually served with the colours, the Colonists have felt their own strength, and are to be reckoned with in the future by any enemy of the British Empire. On the other hand they are resolved not to tolerate such sloth or timidity at home as that which allowed Northern New Guinea to pass from under the control of England. The union for certain common objects of all the Australian Colonies under the Federation Act, passed at the close of last session, has been carried out, except that New South Wales, from a rooted jealousy of the influence of Victoria, still holds aloof. The Federal Council, however, in which Victoria, South Australia, West Australia, Queensland, and Tasmania are now represented, will, at no distant day, embrace not only New South Wales, but New Zealand, and even in the meantime it will constitute a powerful representation of colonial opinion and sentiment.

The South African colonies, owing to differences of race and the difficulties of an urgent native question, are less rapidly advancing to union and independent energy. Imperial policy has wavered between relieving the colonists from responsibility by the exertion of the power of the Crown and yielding to the wishes of Colonial Legislatures. Sir Charles Warren's appointment as Special Commissioner in Bechuanaland was an example of the former tendency, and his recall at the instance of Sir Hercules Robinson, acting in deference to the feeling of the majority at the Cape, was an example of the latter. The controversy between Sir Charles Warren and Mr. Mackenzie

on the one side and the Cape Government and Mr. Rhodes on the other is complicated and obscure ; but it is clear that the sympathies of the Colony were to a large extent with the Boers, whose operations the Special Commissioner had endeavoured to restrain. Bechuanaland is now administered, under Sir Hercules Robinson, by Mr. Shippard, lately one of the judges at Cape Town, but it is doubtful whether the dangers arising from the Transvaal filibusters have been averted or only postponed.

Among the social events of the year we have to mention the marriage of the Princess Beatrice to Prince Henry of Battenberg and the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Ireland.

The growth of the Imperial Federation movement, in which Mr. Forster and Lord Rosebery have taken a prominent part, is a fact of more than political importance. Less gratifying to those who believe in cautious and orderly progress is the appearance of Democratic Socialism of the Continental type in this country. The Dod Street demonstration and the Hyde Park protest against the action of the police and the magistrates were in themselves insignificant ; but, looked at in connection with the proceedings of the National party in Ireland and the crofters' agitation in Scotland, as well as some of the doctrines preached by politicians calling themselves Advanced Liberals, they portend the appearance of a new force in politics. Both in England and in America the sympathies of honest men have been alienated from the Revolutionary party by the persistent attempts of fanatical enemies of society to carry on a war of dynamite after the worst Nihilist examples. The reappearance of cholera in Europe contributed to the depression of the year abroad, while in this country perhaps it was of service by calling attention to the polluted state of the rivers near London. The issue of the general election was, in the opinion of some observers, foreshadowed by the success of the party in favour of voluntary schools, religious education, and economy in administering the rates at the School Board elections in the metropolis and some of the chief provincial towns.

Unusual interest was felt in the registration proceedings before the revising barristers under the Franchise Act and in the important appeals from those decisions. The intention of

Parliament was in several cases frustrated by the interpretation of the law ; the undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge were pronounced without hesitation to be disqualified ; and the service franchise was denied to large classes for whose benefit it was apparently intended. The Irish difficulty was exacerbated not only by agricultural distress, but by the lamentable failure of the Munster Bank, which gravely affected the credit of the farmers throughout the southern provinces.

An unsavoury agitation, in which the Salvation Army joined with the purveyors of sensational news to bring home to the public the necessity for passing the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, inflicted serious mischief by drawing attention in the streets to descriptions of abominable immorality ; and some eminent persons, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, and Mr. Samuel Morley, too easily gave credence to and vouched for the good faith of these culpable extravagances. It was afterwards proved, on the prosecution of Mr. Stead and his associates for the abduction of a girl, Eliza Armstrong, represented as having been sacrificed by her own mother to a vile traffic, that some of the most explicit statements relied on were in part fabricated by a disreputable woman and in part evolved from a morbid imagination. The punishment inflicted on the wrong-doers was not severe, but the exposure has practically put an end to a demoralising and disgusting controversy.

The obituary of the year comprises an unusual number of distinguished names. The death of Gordon at Khartoum went straight to the heart of the English people, and with shame and indignation as well as unavailing sorrow his countrymen learned too late to feel that while he lived "one of Plutarch's men talked with us face to face." In this grievous and wasteful sacrifice were involved Colonel Burnaby, who fell at Abu Klea ; Sir Herbert Stewart, who died of his wounds after Abu Kru ; General Earle, who was slain in command of the river column ; many other officers of distinction, and some well-known newspaper correspondents.

At home the country lost in Lord Cairns a lawyer and statesman of clear judgment and strong moral fibre whose counsels were grievously missed by his party, in Lord Shaftesbury one who devoted to philanthropic causes throughout a

long life powers that might have won him a high place in politics, in Lord Halifax a Whig veteran who played in his time a considerable rather than a conspicuous part in public affairs, and in Lord Houghton a genial and accomplished man of letters, perhaps more likely to be remembered as the friend and confidant of three generations of authors, artists, and refugees.

Among others who have passed away must be mentioned the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland ; Dr. Fraser, Bishop of Manchester, a prelate whose large-mindedness and lofty character gave him far more than an ecclesiastical influence ; Dr. Moberly, Bishop of Salisbury ; Dr. Jackson, Bishop of London ; Dr. Woodford, Bishop of Ely ; and Dr. Wordsworth, who not long before had retired from the See of Lincoln ; the Duke of Abercorn, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland under Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli ; the Duke of Somerset, a member of more than one Liberal Ministry ; Sir Robert Phillimore, long Judge of the Admiralty Court and Dean of Arches ; Lord O'Hagan, formerly Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Sir Edward Sullivan, who held the Great Seal of Ireland when he died ; Cardinal MacCabe, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin ; Lord Strathnairn, memorable in the annals of the army as Sir Hugh Rose ; Sir Harry Parkes, British Minister at Pekin ; Sir John Glover, Governor of Newfoundland ; Sir Peter Scratchley, High Commissioner in New Guinea ; Sir James Hudson, a diplomatist to whom, as Cavour's faithful friend and fellow-worker, "United Italy" owes much ; Sir Moses Montefiore, who passed away in his 101st year ; Sir Arthur Phayre, who for years governed British Burmah ; Lord Mayor Nottage, who died during his term of office ; Dr. Howson, Dean of Chester ; Dr. W. B. Carpenter, the physiologist ; Principal Shairp, a graceful poet and a delicate critic ; Dean Blakesley, perhaps most widely known by his contributions to our columns under the signature of "A Hertfordshire Incumbent" ; Cluny Macpherson, one of the last survivors of the old race of Highland Chiefs ; Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, of Wynnstay, the "King of Wales," whose traditional power has been shattered in Denbighshire, as the general election has shown, by the extension of the suffrage ; Mr. P. J. Smyth, an Irish "patriot" of a different metal from that coined at Mr. Parnell's mint ; Mr. Montagu Chambers, long a familiar figure

in Parliament and at the Bar ; Sir Julius Benedict, the composer ; Sir George Harrison, lately elected M.P. for Edinburgh ; Sir Ralph Gosset, till recently Serjeant-at-Arms ; Dr. Birch, the Egyptologist ; Mr. Ansdell, R.A. ; Professor Fleeming Jenkin, the electrician ; and Mr. Fargus, a novelist who had leaped to sudden fame under the pseudonym of "Hugh Conway."

Abroad the list of public losses is as long and as striking. King Ferdinand, formerly Regent of Portugal, who had shown "the strong Coburg sense" in his public career, had retired for years before his death into complete privacy.

In Spain the death of the young King Alfonso was immediately followed by that of Marshal Serrano, so intimately associated with the political changes which prepared the way for the Monarchical restoration, and not disconnected, it is believed, with the intrigues which seemed of late to threaten a reversal of that measure.

France has lost in Victor Hugo a great, if an eccentric and intractable genius, much of whose work, though not all, the world will never let die ; and in Edmond About an admirable representative of the clear, incisive, limited intelligence, sparkling with wit and equipped with a trenchant logic, which finds a place more easily in French literature than humour, pathos, or sublimity. Admiral Courbet was a victim of the ill-fated Tonquin policy of M. Ferry. The *Comédie Française* was deprived in M. Perrin of an experienced director.

Germany has mourned Prince Frederick Charles, the "Red Prince," the ablest soldier whom the martial House of Hohenzollern has produced since Frederick the Great ; Field-Marshal Manteuffel, for many years Viceroy of Alsace-Lorraine, another of the iron warriors who have built up the Empire ; and Dr. Nachtigal, the traveller, an energetic labourer for Prince Bismarck's colonial policy.

In the United States the long struggle of General Grant with a cruelly painful and hopeless disease was watched with intense public sympathy, which, it may be said, extended all over the civilised world. When the end came, the shortcomings of Grant's political career were buried in oblivion, and the nation only remembered his splendid services to the cause of the Union in the time of trial. The death of Vice-President Hendricks drew attention to a weak point in the

Constitutional system; those of General M'Clellan, formerly Commander of the Federal Army, and of Cardinal M'Closkey, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, attracted less notice than that of Mr. William Vanderbilt, the millionaire and "Railway King."

## 1886

In the course of the year which closes to-day many remarkable events have happened in all parts of the world, but the most important among them belong to the history of our own country. Mr. Gladstone's alliance with Mr. Parnell was followed, as an inevitable consequence, by the disruption of the Liberal party, the disorganisation of Parliament, and a renewed appeal, after an interval of little more than half a year, to the constituencies. The decision of the country on the great issues raised by Mr. Gladstone was taken after a prolonged and searching controversy in Parliament and in the press, and it was unmistakably pronounced.

Setting aside the following of Mr. Parnell, the adherents of Mr. Gladstone are outnumbered in the present House of Commons by two to one, and, even reckoning the Gladstonian and Parnellite forces as a solid body, the majority of Unionists over Separatists is more than a hundred. Nor has there been hitherto the faintest sign of any change in the opinion of the nation. On the contrary, it is apparent that since his defeat at the last general election Mr. Gladstone's influence over public opinion has been fading away ; his erratic appeals to public opinion have only revealed more clearly to his countrymen his incapacity to enter into the sentiment and the character of Englishmen, his slavish subjection to Parnellism, and his readiness to evoke on his side all the disintegrating forces throughout the United Kingdom, in Scotland and Wales as well as in Ireland. His adherents are divided ; some want to press forward, some would like to hark back, and, between them, their overtures to the Liberal Unionists, which have been rendered completely illusory and illogical by the neces-

sity for keeping Mr. Parnell in hand, have only resulted in ridicule.

This far-reaching and unexpected change in the state of political parties at home has profoundly affected the policy of the British Empire at home and abroad. The fear that the traditions of English statesmanship are destined to perish under the solvents of democratic impatience has to a large extent disappeared. At the same time there are new and most formidable difficulties to be confronted. The secession of Lord Randolph Churchill has weakened the Conservative Government at a most critical time, and it is highly improbable that the loss will be made good by a coalition with Lord Hartington and his followers. The state of Ireland has given cause for the gravest anxieties, and it still remains to be seen how far lawlessness will be successful in defying law.

The diplomatic situation in Europe is shadowed with dark omens. It is doubtful whether the Powers which are on the side of peace and treaty rights will be able to set bounds to the ambition of Russia, and Germany appears to be paralysed in the fulfilment of her natural function by the dread of a Franco-Russian alliance. The most hopeful signs are to be looked for in the relations between this country and her great colonial dependencies, which seem to hold out a promise that the strength of the British Empire, offensive and defensive, may be immensely augmented in the near future.

When the year opened the suspected, but as yet not proved, conversion of Mr. Gladstone to Home Rule was the theme of universal discussion. Early in the controversy, before it had yet passed into the Parliamentary phase, Sir James Stephen and Mr. Lecky attacked the Separatists in our columns, and doubting Liberals, uncertain how far Mr. Gladstone was prepared to go, avoided coming to close quarters. Many of them still clung to the conviction that their leader had no thought of deserting the cause of union and loyalty, and dismissed all disquieting rumours as inventions of the enemy. Others, better acquainted with the facts, maintained a discreet and watchful reserve.

The Conservative Government, meanwhile, had begun to see that the contemptuous tolerance extended to them by the National League would be withdrawn the moment Mr. Gladstone's alliance with Mr. Parnell was finally concluded. The

terrorism exercised by the branches of the League had been allowed to consolidate and extend its operations during the preceding six months, and, though outrages had diminished, the boycotting system had grown more stringent and cruel. It was obviously necessary that an effort should be made to reassert the authority of the law. Lord Carnarvon's resignation of the Viceroyalty, which he had accepted on condition that it was to be only a temporary appointment, involved that of Sir William Hart-Dyke, but there were curious delays in disclosing the policy to be adopted in Ireland. The development of the Irish question in Parliament belongs to the history of the session, and has been already narrated.

It is enough to observe here that the overthrow of Lord Salisbury's Government on a side issue, and the formation of Mr. Gladstone's third Cabinet, with Mr. Morley at the Irish Office, before the results of Mr. W. H. Smith's appointment as Chief Secretary were visible and the Ministerial Bill for strengthening the law in Ireland was produced, paved the way for a period during which "social order" was avowedly subordinated to political changes, or at least declared to be only attainable through them. The effect was traceable in many directions—in the demoralisation of the magistracy and the police, the growing ascendancy of the League, the excitement of the Protestants of Ulster, the depression of the Loyalists, the depreciation in the value not only of land but of every kind of property, including banks and railways. Nor was it until the constituencies pronounced emphatically against Mr. Gladstone that there were renewed signs of improvement.

Before Lord Salisbury's resignation an appeal had been addressed to him for protection by the representatives of all the great interests connected with Ireland—commercial, industrial, financial, and proprietary ; and when Mr. Gladstone entered upon office he had to deal with the same demand. He put it aside with a plea for "inquiry and examination," which would have been more satisfactory if it had been accompanied by a pledge that meanwhile "social order" would be maintained. The Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union furnished Mr. Gladstone with a statement of facts and authorities bearing on the question of government in Ireland, and set to work energetically to inform not only the Ministry, but the British public, through meetings, pamphlets, and other means, of the real state of the case.

While the Government scheme was ripening many amateur projects for dealing with the question were put forward by private persons and kept up a brisk critical discussion. In no plan suggested, whether by Radical politicians or philosophical speculators, was it shown that any adequate guarantee for the protection of the loyal minority in Ireland was possible, or that any sanction could be devised ensuring the fulfilment of the conditions of a federal pact by an Irish Government and Legislature. The controversy was marked as it went on by a series of secessions from the ranks of Mr. Gladstone's followers. The heads of the great Whig houses—the Grosvenors, the Russells, the Cavendishes, the Greys, the Fitzwilliams—declared against the disruption of the Empire and the surrender of property to be dealt with by the apostles of public plunder. Lord Hartington, Lord Selborne, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Derby, Lord Northbrook, Mr. Bright, Mr. Goschen, Sir Henry James, and Mr. Courtney stood conspicuously aloof from Mr. Gladstone's new combination with Mr. John Morley as his standard bearer and Mr. Parnell as his backer. It is true they reserved their judgment on plans not yet revealed and refused to join the Conservatives in attacking Mr. Gladstone before the production of his measures. But Lord Hartington, speaking early in March at the "Eighty Club," protested firmly, though temperately, against attempts to identify the Liberal party with the movements of Mr. Gladstone's mind, and indicated beyond doubt that proposals dangerous to Imperial unity would be resisted. His tone might have been more decided if Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan had not been still members of the Cabinet, for the former had pronounced against any concessions in the direction of autonomy which were not safeguarded by an effective Imperial control, and the latter had declared the surrender of the Executive power to be wholly inadmissible.

So matters stood when Mr. Gladstone's twin Bills were at last laid before the Cabinet. The retirement of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan proved that their conditions had not been satisfied, and Mr. Gladstone's speeches, illustrated by the text of the Bills and by the explanations of his retiring colleagues, completed the case against Home Rule.

It is doubtful how far repeated delays in the production of the Bills, which were suspected of being intentional and were certainly provoking, told for or against the Government. On

reviewing the situation during the Easter recess Mr. Gladstone found that he had arrayed against him the most eminent representatives, not only of rank, birth, landed property, and public service, but of all the great professions, of every intellectual movement, of literature, art, and science, of commerce, industry, and finance. Many of those who declared their sympathy with the Unionist cause had always been ranked as Liberals. Lord Tennyson, Lord Wolseley, Lord Bramwell, Sir James Stephen, Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. Goldwin Smith, Mr. Froude, Mr. Lecky, Professor Huxley, Professor Tyndall, Sir F. Leighton, the Warden of Merton, Mr. Swinburne, the Rothschilds, the Barings were among those, with very many others, whom Mr. Gladstone included in the comprehensive indictment of his opponents which he sent forth from Hawarden just before the reassembling of Parliament. In this appeared all the characteristic marks of his Parnellite development, his contention that the issue lay between "the masses" and "the classes," his appeal to the most dangerous forms of democratic passion, his denunciation of the Union and of English statesmen who have supported it upon evidence with which, if it existed, he ought to have been familiar fifty years ago, and his endeavours to excite among the people of Great Britain the Separatist spirit he was labouring to satisfy in Ireland.

Mr. Gladstone's Bills, his speeches, and his manifesto were subjected to a searching criticism, and when Parliament reassembled it was clear that the Unionist cause had made great progress in the country. The movement may be said to have had its formal beginning in the great meeting at Her Majesty's Theatre, when Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Rylands, and Lord Fife appeared on the same platform with Lord Salisbury, Mr. W. H. Smith, and Mr. Plunket. Mr. Caine's election for Barrow as a Radical who refused to support Mr. Gladstone in destroying the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was followed up by other evidence that, even in the ranks of the most advanced Liberalism, the Unionist spirit was strong.

Those, however, who accepted Lord Hartington's leadership were the first to organise themselves, and the Liberal Unionist Committee was originally drawn almost exclusively from this section, in which the most active of the younger members were Mr. Brand and Mr. Albert Grey. Mr. Chamberlain, who had as his lieutenants Mr. Jesse Collings and Mr. Caine, was not

slow in taking example by his allies, and when the time came both sections were prepared to unite in opposing the Prime Minister's fatal policy not only in Parliament but before the country. For the Gladstonian measures the principal apologists were Mr. Morley and Lord Spencer. The Duke of Argyll, Lord Selborne, and Lord Northbrook rendered good service on the other side both with tongue and pen, but Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen were the protagonists. Mr. Chamberlain met and argued down the Birmingham Caucus, and Mr. Bright in two or three outspoken letters affirmed that he would never consent to place Ireland in the hands of rebels and terrorists. The local wire-pullers, however, of the Liberal party, convinced of Mr. Gladstone's ascendancy, declared, except in a very few cases, for the Ministerial policy, and to their pressure were certainly due the Parliamentary vicissitudes of the controversy, in which the public took little interest and which it did not clearly understand. The concessions held out to the Radical Unionists by Mr. Gladstone and the hesitation of some members in trouble about their seats left the result doubtful down almost to the moment of the final decision.

The rejection of the Home Rule Bill by so large a majority as thirty encouraged the Unionist Opposition, and as soon as Parliament was dissolved the battle in the constituencies was begun with extraordinary vigour. The Government relied mainly on Mr. Gladstone's personal popularity and on Mr. Morley's appeals to the fears, the weariness, and the weakness of the electors. On the other side, the weight of varied authority counted for much, and the attempt to represent as a mere Tory attack a movement in which Mr. Bright, Lord Hartington, and Mr. Chamberlain took part recoiled upon its authors. One most potent factor in the formation of opinion was, no doubt, the dislike of the Land Purchase Bill—that is, of a measure for lending to a Home Rule Government in Dublin a vast sum, variously estimated at from £50,000,000 to £200,000,000, raised on the responsibility of the British taxpayers and secured only by the credit and good faith of an Irish Legislature; though, as Mr. Chamberlain has said, there is no reluctance to employ the credit of the State for the settlement on just and reasonable terms of the Irish agrarian difficulty, if only the supremacy of the Imperial Government were maintained. But, broadly, the issue before the country was whether Ireland

should be given up to the Irish Separatists, organised and subsidised by alien enemies, or whether the Union should be upheld.

Mr. Gladstone, in his address to his constituents, tried to fix on the Conservatives and their Liberal Unionist allies the policy of unmitigated coercion, basing the charge on Lord Salisbury's assertion that Ireland needed most of all twenty years of resolute government, and, in his speeches in Midlothian, repeated Mr. Parnell's insinuation that the Conservative Government had held out to the latter the concession of Home Rule—a statement distinctly contradicted by the alleged negotiator, Lord Carnarvon. His real grievance, however, was the understanding arrived at between all sections of the Unionists—Tory, Whig, and Radical—to fight shoulder to shoulder, and, with one or two insignificant exceptions, faithfully observed by all. Though attacked, of course, energetically by the Conservatives, and especially with deplorable violence and lack of taste by Lord Randolph Churchill in his Paddington address, Mr. Gladstone directed his most strenuous efforts, personally or by delegation, against the Liberal Unionists, assailing Mr. Goschen in Edinburgh, sending out his emissaries against Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, and angrily controverting Mr. Bright's damaging exposure of the inconsistency, recklessness, and blundering of the Home Rule *volte-face*.

The Unionists held their ground manfully. Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain not only fought out the question in their own constituencies, but carried the war into the enemy's country ; Mr. Goschen and Mr. Trevelyan, who had become by his father's death Sir George, struggled against the Gladstone worship of the Scottish democracy ; and Mr. Rylands, Mr. Caine, Mr. Brand, Mr. Albert Grey, and many others played their part with varying fortunes, but always with dignity and public spirit. Mr. Parnell and several of his followers came forward to aid the Gladstonian cause on English platforms, but it is certain that their intervention was more damaging than helpful, nor was Cardinal Manning's maladroit advocacy more serviceable.

The Government were defeated on the 8th of June, and before the close of the month Parliament was dissolved, the new elections being completed soon after the middle of July. The

campaign was thus short and sharp, but the prolonged controversy in and out of Parliament on the single issue presented for decision had precluded the possibility of a surprise. In a great number of constituencies the sitting members held their seats without a contest; in England most of these were Conservative and in Ireland Parnellites.

The Unionists started with a majority which the polling in the English boroughs greatly increased, in spite of the Parnellite boast, greedily swallowed by Mr. Gladstone, that the Irish vote could secure 40 or 50 seats. The prospects of the Separatists were not much improved by the contests in the English counties, for, though the North-Eastern region from the Humber to the Tweed followed Mr. Gladstone, the Parnellite alliance was almost everywhere else decisively rejected—in the Eastern Counties, in Lancashire, in the West Country, and, above all, in the Home Counties from Hampshire to Essex and from Oxfordshire to Kent. In the metropolitan district 49 Conservatives and 2 Liberal Unionists were returned against 11 Gladstonians, and, taking England as a whole, the division of parties was shown to be 284 Conservatives, 54 Liberal Unionists, 126 Gladstonians, and 1 Parnellite. The Separatists looked to the outlying countries to make up for the defection of England; but even here the Unionist cause was by no means unrepresented. In Scotland Mr. Gladstone's personal influence secured the return of 43 Separatists against 12 Conservatives and 17 Liberal Unionists; in Wales the return of 23 Separatists against 4 Conservatives and 3 Liberal Unionists. The Parnellites carried 85 seats in Ireland (to which they subsequently added one by a successful petition against Mr. C. Lewis in Derry), the Conservatives 16, and the Liberal Unionists 2.

The new House of Commons, therefore, consisted of 316 Conservatives, 76 Liberal Unionists, 192 Gladstonians, and 86 Parnellites. The rejection of Mr. Goschen, Sir George Trevelyan, Mr. Brand, Mr. Albert Grey, and other Unionist Liberals was lamentable; but, on the other hand, great triumphs had been achieved; the Unionists elected all the seven members for Birmingham, including Mr. Henry Matthews, a Tory Democrat and Roman Catholic; in Glasgow a Conservative obtained a seat; three Conservatives were returned for Salford; and even in Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds the transfer of the Irish vote only caused a loss of four seats. The Conservative leaders

were generally returned by great majorities, Sir Matthew Ridley being almost alone in his ill-success, subsequently repaired by his election to succeed Sir Frederick Stanley in the Blackpool Division. The absence of Mr. A<sup>t</sup>ch, Mr. Leicester, and Mr. Thorold Rogers was not regretted by those solicitous for the traditional character of Parliament. Sir Charles Dilke's defeat in Chelsea was partly due to other than political reasons. In Ireland two conspicuous Parnellites—Mr. Healy and Mr. William O'Brien—who had held seats in Ulster, were thrown out by the rising tide of Protestant and Unionist feeling in the North ; but Mr. Sexton secured a seat in the Western Division of Belfast, where the Catholic population is chiefly congregated.

The condition of Ireland, North and South, was the first problem which confronted Lord Salisbury when, on Mr. Gladstone's prompt recognition of the verdict of the constituencies, he had once more to form a Cabinet. The situation was alarming enough. Mr. Morley had predicted, and the spokesmen of the National League had threatened, that, if the Home Rule Bill were rejected, war would be declared on the British Government in Ireland ; and it was to be expected that an effort to make these menaces and prophecies come true would not be wanting. The League had already been preparing for action at the beginning of the year, but, in order to clear the way for the passing of Mr. Gladstone's scheme, the organisers exerted themselves, with considerable success, to restrain outrage and disorder, and even to facilitate, for the time, the fulfilment of contracts. The machinery of mischief, however, could not be easily checked. Agrarian crime harassed Kerry and the adjacent parts of Cork, Clare, and Limerick, and in other districts attempts to obtain payment of rent by eviction, even when several years' arrears were due, were forcibly resisted or cruelly avenged.

The truce, so far as it was carried into effect, originated partly in the desire of the League not to interfere with the prospects of Mr. Gladstone's measures, and partly in the paralysing fear which fell upon the landlords when it seemed probable that they would be handed over to the mercies of a Home Rule Government. Moreover, Mr. Morley's well-known opinions and his language about evictions, accentuated by Sir Robert Hamilton's position at the Castle, contributed to damp the zeal of the magistracy and the constabulary in carrying

out the law. The Under Secretary was in direct and constant communication with those responsible for the peace of the country, and the fact that, though a permanent official, he had been publicly referred to again and again as an authority on the side of Home Rule could not fail to affect those under his orders.

In the North passions were still more inflamed. Unfortunately, the Protestant population, resolved not to be handed over to the rule of the League, had caught fire at the threats of the Parnellites that the police would be used to coerce the opponents of Home Rule. The Ulster Liberals had to the last refused to believe that Mr. Gladstone contemplated the betrayal of the loyal province, but the discussions on the Bill finally undeceived them, and almost all the Protestants, with many of the better order of Roman Catholics, ranged themselves thenceforward side by side with the Conservatives. In February Lord Randolph Churchill had visited Belfast to assure the Ulstermen of the sympathy of their fellow-citizens in Great Britain, and had used language hypothetically justifying resistance to a Government dominated by the League. On this ground a far-fetched and uncandid criticism held him responsible for the lamentable riots of the summer, but several months of quietude intervened.

It was not until the very crisis of the Parliamentary struggle that the rival mobs, Protestant and Catholic, of Belfast, long notorious for violence and faction, broke out, after mutual provocations, into conflicts almost approaching civil war. On 6th June the first street battle took place, but the Protestants soon obtained the upper hand, and thenceforward, excited by a deplorable and unfounded prejudice, they turned their obstinate fury against the constabulary. The rioting and the attacks on the police were repeatedly renewed during July; and when Lord Salisbury's Government came into office they had to deal with a serious menace to order and property in Belfast. There could be little doubt that the responsibility mainly rested on the Protestant workmen, especially the shipwrights; but it is also clear that the local magistracy were weak and vacillating, that the police were not at first discreetly managed and sometimes got out of hand, and that the military might have been employed with good effect before the disorder reached its height.

Lord Salisbury, on being called in by the Queen and requested to form a Government, took counsel in the first instance with the leaders of the Liberal Unionists. The negotiations were brief, for it was found that, though there were no great dividing questions, a coalition was, for the moment, impossible. Owing mainly to the repugnance of his followers to enter into a Government with the Conservatives, Lord Hartington felt himself compelled to decline Lord Salisbury's magnanimous offer to serve in a Ministry under him. The new Administration was, therefore, exclusively Conservative.

A meeting of the party was held a few days before the meeting of Parliament at the Carlton Club, at which Lord Salisbury's action was approved. Lord Randolph Churchill became Chancellor of the Exchequer with the leadership of the House of Commons, Lord Iddesleigh Foreign Secretary, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Irish Secretary. More surprising was the appointment of Mr. Matthews, the Conservative member for Birmingham, to the Home Office. Mr. Matthews' re-election was challenged by his former opponent, Mr. Alderman Cook, and, in spite of the renewed pledges of support given to the Government at a meeting of Liberal Unionists of both sections at Devonshire House, it seemed, for a while, that the Unionist alliance was in peril; but, when it became clear to Mr. Cook that the Radical Unionists in Birmingham would not support him till he had thoroughly purged himself of his Gladstonianism, he retired, rather ungraciously, from the field, and the Home Secretary was returned unopposed, as were all the other Ministers, except Mr. Ritchie, President of the Local Government Board, who defeated his rash opponent in the Tower Hamlets by nearly two to one.

The Separatist faction in Ireland made Lord Aberdeen's departure from Dublin the pretext for a theatrical demonstration of confidence in the Gladstonian party, but, in spite of the organised enthusiasm of Irish mobs, there was no disposition among the Parnellites to wait upon the restoration of Mr. Gladstone's fallen fortunes. If they had been so inclined, they were warned from the other side of the Atlantic that they were expected to keep in touch with their paymasters. The Chicago Convention, convened by the National League in the United States, at which the representatives of the most violent Irish-American revolutionists welcomed and dictated

a policy to Mr. Davitt, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Redmond, announced before Mr. Parnell opened his parallels in the debate on the Address the objects and methods of the coming campaign.

While the Parnellites had been backing Mr. Gladstone, and accordingly sustaining his contention that the Land Purchase Bill provided ample security for the advance of many millions by the Imperial Government, no attack had been made on judicial tenancies in Ireland, which, indeed, the Bill treated as unalterable. As soon, however, as Lord Salisbury came into office a loud outcry was raised against what were called "impossible rents," and a revision of the rental fixed by the Land Court was demanded on the ground of a fall in agricultural prices. This move, which was obviously designed, according to the Chicago programme, to provoke a "rent war," was openly aided or covertly encouraged by the Gladstonians; and the defeat of Mr. Parnell's Relief Bill was declared by the opponents of the Government to be the certain beginning of troubles in Ireland.

At the outset these sinister predictions were not verified. The Government had begun by giving pledges of an energetic course of action which had an immediate effect in Ireland. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach sent down the Inspector-General of Constabulary to Belfast with large reinforcements of soldiery as well as police, and though the rioting was renewed for some days, the spirit of disorder was finally got under. Mr. Morley, before his resignation, had appointed a Commission of Inquiry, which was enlarged and strengthened by his successor and placed under the presidency of Mr. Justice Day. At the same time other Commissions were announced—one to examine into the material resources of Ireland, and another, over which Lord Cowper was chosen to preside, to investigate the working of the Land Acts, and the obstacles to the payment of rents.

The speeches of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues in the debate on the Address, chiming in curiously with the orders of the Chicago Convention, were followed by Mr. Parnell's Bill, the defeat of which was assured by the support given by the Unionist Liberals to the Government, on the condition that the law would be firmly enforced and the obligation of contracts maintained. Nothing could be stronger than the language of Lord Randolph Churchill and the Chief Secretary on this point;

and the selection of Sir Redvers Buller to organise and invigorate the police in Kerry was accepted as a practical step towards the fulfilment of the pledge. The results were visible during September and the early part of October in the readiness shown by tenants in paying their rent, very often in full, and in the decline in numbers and influence of the League branches. The Government had exhorted the landlords to be considerate in the enforcement of their rights; and, in almost all cases where cause was shown, and in many where there was little ground for indulgence, the advice was acted upon. The allegation that the fall in prices had made judicial rents impossible was refuted by the actual payments made.

The leaders of the League were dismayed at the turn of affairs; Mr. Parnell had absented himself from the field, and some of his leading followers were for a long time silent. Mr. Dillon, however, began, towards the close of October, to incite the tenantry to refuse to pay rent unless they obtained wholesale reductions fixed by themselves, and a Plan of Campaign was preached, of which the point was that, in case of the landlord's refusal to accept the tenants' terms, they should lodge the amount offered with so-called trustees, who were to spend it in supporting any farmers evicted in consequence of these measures. The tenantry were, apparently, in no hurry to adopt these hazardous tactics, and, if the belief that the Government would enforce the law rigorously had still prevailed, it is probable that the winter would have passed over quietly enough.

Unluckily the impression got abroad that the Executive, not content with advising the landlords to forbearance, were exercising a "dispensing power," through Sir Redvers Buller and other officers in similar positions; and the peasantry were easily persuaded, when rumours to this effect remained for a long time uncontradicted, that, if the landlords refused the abatements demanded, they would not have the aid of the Executive in carrying out ejectments. Mr. Dillon's impunity in his open incitement to what Lord Salisbury afterwards described as "organised embezzlement" naturally fed the flame; the Plan of Campaign was advocated week after week, with increasing audacity, in the Press and on the platform, and the populace were assured that the Government had neither the power nor the will to strike. The next step was to terrorise the jurors at the winter assizes by public meetings and denunciatory articles.

Archbishop Walsh, in the name of his Church, blessed the banners of the campaigners.

The removal of Sir Robert Hamilton from the Under-Secretaryship, by his promotion to the Governorship of Tasmania, was evidently necessary, since the popular belief in the weakening of the magistracy and the police could not fail to be strengthened by the presence at the centre of affairs of a conspicuous advocate of surrender to the League. The attempt of a few partisans to represent Sir Robert Hamilton's promotion as an infraction of the rights of permanent officials under the Crown was easily repelled by reference to the course taken by Mr. Gladstone in Sir Edward Wetherall's case. The Government intending to appoint a Parliamentary Under-Secretary as soon as the consent of Parliament could be obtained, Sir Robert Hamilton's post was only filled up *ad interim*, and Sir Redvers Buller was selected to fill it. It was all the more to be regretted that the rumours as to the exercise of a dispensing power in enforcing judicial decrees were not more speedily confuted and any indiscretions of that sort sharply rebuked. The masses quickly arrived at the conclusion that the law could be set at nought by raising tumults and frightening the Executive, and the Plan of Campaign was preached with increasing vehemence by Mr. Dillon and others animated by the same spirit, and threats were openly held over the jurors at the coming winter assizes.

The Government at length interfered. Mr. Dillon, after one of his most violent speeches, was brought before the Court of Queen's Bench and called upon to give security for good behaviour, and some meetings which were obviously intended to coerce the juries were proclaimed. The proceedings, however, hung fire, and, meanwhile, Mr. Dillon repeated the offence, and was even outdone by Mr. O'Brien, while Archbishop Walsh reiterated his vindication of the Plan of Campaign and his denunciation of the jury system. The judgment on Mr. Dillon's case, exacting bail for £1000 from himself and two sureties, was of less importance than the distinct declaration of the judges that the Plan of Campaign was an illegal and criminal conspiracy.

The Executive immediately acted on this authoritative interpretation of the law. The police made a descent upon the rent-receiving agitators at Loughrea, seized a part of the money

paid over by the tenants, and summoned Mr. Dillon and several of his colleagues before the magistrates. This step, which alarmed the tenants, was followed up by a proclamation of the Lords Justices declaring the Plan of Campaign illegal and criminal, and threatening prosecutions against all concerned in it. Mr. Dillon and the other leaders of the League were, at the same time, cited to appear to answer a charge of conspiracy carried on in Dublin, of which the Plan of Campaign was the outcome. Proceedings in this matter are at present pending, but meanwhile Mr. Parnell, who has been ill, has reappeared in London, and has astonished the world by affirming that he knows nothing of the Plan of Campaign and suspends judgment upon it. His statement has been received with significantly cold silence by the agitators. The result is that, though the Plan is said to be worked surreptitiously, the tenantry are careful not to commit themselves to it until they see whether or not the law is to be reinforced. In this respect the proceedings at the Winter Assizes, where juries disagreed or acquitted in many cases where the presumption of guilt was strong, cannot be called encouraging.

The open attacks of the party of disorder in Ireland on the institution of property and the authority of law produced a considerable effect upon English opinion, but not at all that which the Separatists had anticipated. They had hoped that the prospect of anarchy in Ireland would drive the Liberal Unionists, not into supporting stern measures for the suppression of outrage and fraud, but into making terms with the League on the basis of Mr. Gladstone's plan. Mr. Gladstone himself, since his overthrow at the elections, had done nothing to open the door for reconciliation, and while sometimes pleading vaguely for reunion he had always shown that the Liberal opponents of his Bill must come back, if at all, submitting themselves to the general principles of his policy and to the alliance with the Parnellites. Moreover, the pamphlet which he published when he started on a visit to Bavaria during the autumn session, and his speech when he received the deputation from the Irish Corporations at Hawarden soon after the prorogation, revealed his persistent brooding over his newly-developed ideas, over the iniquity of the Union, over the tendencies in favour of Separation, not in Ireland alone, but in England, Scotland, and Wales, and the impossibility of up-

holding law and order among the Irish people except by surrender to the League. His colleagues generally followed his lead. Lord Spencer, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Morley invited the Liberal Unionists to return to their allegiance, mocked at the absurdity of maintaining the Unionist alliance in Parliament, and pointed with triumph to the difficulties of the Irish Government, but they said no word to repudiate the extravagances of Mr. Gladstone's latest theories or the conduct of his allies of the League.

At a conference of Gladstonian caucuses held at Leeds the Home Rule flag was deliberately nailed to the mast, and, though Mr. Morley afterwards intimated that the details were open to discussion, it was clear that the central provisions in Mr. Gladstone's Bill—establishing an Irish Parliament and an Irish Executive—would be retained, as, indeed, they must be, if the Parnellites were not to be cut loose.

The historical arguments on which Mr. Gladstone so much relied had been completely demolished by Lord Brabourne, and the constitutional case against Home Rule was opportunely restated by Professor Dicey in a work of singular moderation, lucidity, and logical force. Public opinion was ripening for a vigorous protest, and the conference of the Liberal Unionists held in London on the 7th inst. displayed even a greater enthusiasm among the rank and file than among the leaders. The attitude of the leaders, however, was uncompromisingly firm. Lord Hartington, Lord Selborne, Lord Derby, Lord Northbrook, Mr. Goschen, Sir Henry James, Sir George Trevelyan, and many others spoke out eloquently and manfully against the attempt to drag Liberalism through the mire at the tail of the National League. Even the mischiefs of the Home Rule policy to which the Gladstonians were committed excited less disgust than the tolerance of the tactics of spoliation in Ireland, which some Radical politicians openly favoured and from which others conveniently averted their eyes. This condemnation was expressed with peculiar earnestness in a letter from Mr. Bright, and Lord Hartington's challenge to Mr. Gladstone to declare whether he was on the side of the law or on that of the League was cheered to the echo. Some influential Gladstonians now began to protest that in supporting Home Rule they had no thought of abetting lawlessness and plunder, and the hardening of Conservative statesmanship, which was not a

little needed, was observable, immediately after the Unionist gathering, in Lord Salisbury's speech in the City.

Thus matters stood when the political world was convulsed by the unexpected news of Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation. It was known that he and some of his colleagues were not agreed as to the details of the coming Local Government Bill, but that question had not been thoroughly discussed, and the ground which the Chancellor of the Exchequer chose for breaking up the Unionist Ministry was quite different. Aiming at a reduction of taxation to be disclosed in his budget, he refused, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to be responsible for raising the money required for the army and navy, though, it is understood, the estimates will show no extraordinary increase.

In the alarming state of Europe and the disturbed condition of Ireland, Lord Salisbury had no choice. He was bound to stand by what the War Office and the Admiralty declared to be indispensable, and Lord Randolph Churchill accordingly resigned. The loss of the Ministerial leader in the House of Commons threw public business out of gear and seriously weakened the Government. Lord Salisbury, therefore, turned once more to Lord Hartington and the Liberal Unionists and renewed the self-sacrificing offers he had made in the summer. A period of suspense followed, while Lord Hartington's return from Rome was awaited; but the immediate formation of a Coalition Ministry was prevented by the protest of the Conservative rank and file. The Ministry must therefore for the present be reconstructed on purely party lines, Lord Hartington continuing to support them from outside.

The Irish controversy so completely overshadowed all other questions of domestic politics that the record of political events exclusively connected with Great Britain is somewhat meagre. The effect of agitation in Ireland was traceable, however, in Scotland and Wales, and even in England. The agrarian warfare which had already broken out in the Highlands and Islands was carried on by fits and starts, and it was with difficulty that the police, sometimes aided by the military, maintained the authority of the law in Skye and elsewhere. The passing of the Crofters Bill in the earlier session of this year failed to satisfy a peasantry among whom extravagant hopes had been aroused. The law was forcibly resisted in Tiree, and resistance

was justified by a certain number of Scotch members in the House of Commons, who subsequently resumed the agitation out of doors, denouncing the conviction of the ringleaders in the disturbances, and proclaiming the destruction of landlordism as their object.

Early in the year Mr. Davitt, in the interests of Irish Separatism, had begun to sow the seed of a land war in Wales, and his doctrines, though they made little way at the time, were soon fertilised by contact with the zeal of the Nonconformist ministers for the overthrow of the Church and with the spirit of bastard nationality fostered by Mr. Gladstone. Out of these elements sprang the movement against tithes, which, originating in Denbighshire, spread to many other parts of the Principality, and, in a mitigated form, to some English districts.

In England, happily, disintegrating tendencies found little foothold. The agitations against the Church and the land-owners visibly lost ground, and the behaviour of Mr. Gladstone's Irish allies operated upon English Radicalism rather as a deterrent than as an incentive. Consequently, the transfer of power from Mr. Gladstone to Lord Salisbury was regarded with equanimity by the people at large, especially when it was seen that the Unionist alliance had not only toned down the extreme opinions of its Liberal section, but had enlarged the narrow views of its Conservative section.

Lord Randolph Churchill's speech at Dartford after the prorogation announced a policy of reform so comprehensive and progressive as almost to take the old Tories' breath away. Parliamentary procedure, local government and taxation, land transfer, the incidence of tithes, the provision of allotments, and half a dozen other subjects of great importance, were to be dealt with in a generous and enterprising spirit. The Gladstonians at once raised the cry that the Government were "stealing the brooms ready-made"; but a more serious protest arose on the other side. Mr. Chaplin expressed the repugnance of a large section of the Conservatives to the proposal for closing debate by a bare majority of the House, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer apparently favoured. In one or two subsequent speeches the latter watered down in some degree the Radicalism of his other projects, but did not show any sign of yielding upon the closure. The Prime Minister and some of his

colleagues spoke with more qualification and doubt, and among the Conservative rank and file there was much murmuring.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer excited not less discontent among the rear-guard of his party by his endeavours to establish his credit for economic orthodoxy, and to obliterate the memory of certain of his performances in Opposition. He dealt with finance in his recess speeches with almost rigid purism, and his refusal of the request of the Metropolitan Board of Works to assist in obtaining a renewal of the coal and wine dues was conceived quite in Mr. Gladstone's manner. But no one was prepared for the exaggerated assertion of the claims of retrenchment, which, as we have said, he made the foundation of his quarrel with his colleagues and their estimates.

The Postmaster-General, also pursuing a strictly economic policy, was exposed to sharp criticism when he terminated the contracts for the Atlantic mail service with the Cunard and White Star Lines, and introduced a more open system, giving a share of the business to the North German Lloyd's boats touching at Southampton, and thus arousing the wrath of Liverpool and Ireland.

For the rest, many burning questions were temporarily extinguished by the Royal Commissions appointed at the close of the autumn session. Lord Cowper and his colleagues were at work upon the Irish agrarian problem, and a smaller Commission had to deal with the development of the industrial resources of Ireland. To a third set of Commissioners was assigned the group of questions connected with the currency which had been forced upon the attention of the State by the fall in the value of silver, and to a fourth the organisation and working of the great spending departments. The condition of the army and navy, which Mr. Childers pronounced to be incomparable in January, was soon admitted to be, in respect of armament, *materiel*, and stores, very far from satisfactory. Bayonets and swords of soft metal and cheap German manufacture, rifles and Gatlings that "jammed" in action, and heavy ordnance subject to the risk of bursting from structural defects or careless handling did not show an efficient state of preparation for war, and though Colonel Hope's charges of official corruption were not found to be based on any trustworthy or even tangible evidence, it was clear that a thorough overhauling of the departments was necessary.

The gravest problems, however, of domestic politics, though not the most conspicuous, were those connected with the labour market and the revolutionary propaganda among the working classes. Throughout the year the cry of the unemployed was loudly heard, and it was turned to their own purposes by agitators imitating the Socialists and Anarchists of the Continent, and encouraged by the menacing attacks on capital in France, Belgium, and the United States. The Social Democratic Federation, a body headed by Mr. Hyndman and other notorious fanatics, assumed the right—which ought never to have been admitted, even by implication—of negotiating on equal terms with the police and the Government in the name of the unemployed. A demonstration organised by this body brought together in Trafalgar Square on the 8th of February a crowd of roughs and criminals, as well as some sincere believers in the saving virtues of spoliation and anarchy.

The moment was well chosen for mischief. Lord Salisbury's Government had resigned and Mr. Gladstone's had nominally entered upon office, but Mr. Childers was not yet installed at the Home Office, and Sir Edmund Henderson, the Chief Commissioner of Police, either was ignorant of the danger or provided inadequately for meeting it. After inflammatory speeches from the leading agitators the excited mob was allowed to drift in a strong tide through Pall Mall and St. James's Street, smashing the windows of obnoxious clubs, and thence into Hyde Park and some of the principal streets of the West End, where jewellers' shops and others were looted, ladies and gentlemen hustled and robbed, and a panic created which lasted for many days. When at last the police were brought on the scene in force, they put an end easily enough to the rioting and plundering. Sir Edmund Henderson's resignation of his post was the natural result of the riots, of which the damage, under a special statute, was borne by the metropolitan ratepayers, and of the inquiries of a Committee appointed to investigate the affair, before which the Chief Commissioner appeared as a witness. Sir Charles Warren, distinguished for his services in South Africa, became Sir Edmund Henderson's successor, and had to carry out the changes in the organisation of the London police recommended by another Committee.

A prosecution had been instituted, meanwhile, against the ringleaders of the Socialist agitation, but it was conducted in

such a manner that the public believed the new Attorney-General, Sir Charles Russell, to be "riding for a fall," and were not astonished at the acquittal of the prisoners. The agitators at once renewed their attacks, and, as the winter approached, their declamation, backed by the sympathies of a good many soft-hearted and soft-headed people, was echoed by the demand "that something should be done," and various plans for relief funds and so forth were set on foot. Common sense, fortunately, entered an opportune and effectual protest against the cry for hasty and inconsiderate remedies for a grossly exaggerated evil.

The Socialists, however, were determined to thrust themselves forward as the champions of the poor, and, emulating the Irish agitators, whose success statesmen of Mr. Morley's school had recognised almost as the working of a law of nature, they coolly proposed to organise a procession in the streets concurrently with the Lord Mayor's Show on the 9th of November. Sir James Fraser, the City Commissioner of Police, condescended at first to argue with the faction of disorder, and to point out the dangers of a collision with the crowds of sightseers; but the mischievous project, which reminded Londoners too forcibly of the riots of February, was not abandoned until it had been peremptorily forbidden. Then a demonstration in Trafalgar Square was planned, but was prohibited by Sir Charles Warren. A very strong force of police was assembled near the Square and the Household Cavalry were held in readiness for contingencies; but though large crowds assembled, they were not allowed to come in contact with the civic procession. Some speeches were delivered at the foot of Nelson's Column in defiance of the proclamation. The mob, however, including evidently many dangerous elements, was broken and scattered as it left the Square and was not permitted to move westward in threatening masses. This was the last serious attempt of the Socialists to coerce "the classes." A subsequent meeting in Hyde Park was a dismal failure and later threats have come to nothing.

The effect of the Home Rule controversy was traceable in quite another direction, by way not of emulation, but of reaction. The movement in favour of drawing closer the bonds of union between the mother country and her dependencies beyond the seas made rapid strides forward from the region of theory into

that of practice. The Imperial Federation League convened a very successful and enthusiastic conference soon after the meeting of Parliament, and though the projects debated were still somewhat vague, and agreement in matters of detail was judiciously left to be settled in the future, the discussion fixed public attention on questions too long ignored. The necessity of making better provision for the naval and military defence of the outlying portions of the Empire was no longer contested in principle, either in or out of Parliament, and Lord Granville himself was moved, at a banquet to Mr. Murray Smith, the retiring Agent-General of Victoria, to express his warm sympathy with Imperial unity.

The progress of Imperialist ideas was quickened by the popular success of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition at South Kensington, which brought home to the minds of the masses the vast extent and the inexhaustible resources of the Empire. Complaint was made, however, that the Exhibition had been allowed to degenerate into a big showplace and miscellaneous garden party, and that the interests of the colonists had been in many respects neglected and set at nought. But the central conception could not be wholly smothered by administrative blunders and the levity of pleasure-seekers, and the presence in London of a great number of distinguished public men from the colonies led to further and more important developments of a practical Imperialism. It was a happy thought to select as one of the achievements of the Queen's Jubilee year the foundation of an Imperial Institute permanently representing the interests of all the dependencies of the Crown and especially forwarding trade with the mother country.

The risk, which at one time seemed rather serious, that this important movement, headed as it was by the Prince of Wales, would be perverted into a mere stereotyped copy of the South Kensington Show was happily averted by the intervention of public opinion. The report of the Committee appointed to frame a scheme is animated by a higher ideal. Another consequence of this stirring of the national mind was seen in the acceptance in principle by Ministers of the suggestion, put forward by the Imperial Federation League, that the colonies should be invited to confer, through their representatives, with the Home Government on the means of common defence, the mails, postal and telegraphic communications, and similar

subjects. The Speech from the throne at the close of the second session of Parliament promised that negotiations would be opened up with the Colonial Governments, and the arrangements for the conference to be held in the spring have been lately made public. The movement for closer union has been obstructed by local jealousies. In Australia, where the colonies had been empowered by Imperial statute to form a loose federal union, New South Wales stood aloof from her neighbours ; and the other States, though entering cordially into the federal negotiations, were by no means satisfied with the action of the Home Government in restraining the advance of other European Powers in the New Hebrides and New Guinea.

India, also, remained internally undisturbed. The long-protracted delimitation of the Afghan frontier from time to time revived alarmist speculations. Although its task was not absolutely completed, the Commission under Sir West Ridgeway was withdrawn. The occupation of Burmah proved a more serious task than had been generally anticipated. On New Year's Day the annexation was formally proclaimed ; but our difficulties were only beginning when the British troops and the civil authorities were installed at Mandalay. The country was to be conquered in detail, and after twelve months of toil and struggle the work is not yet complete. Lord Dufferin himself visited Burmah in February, and it was hoped that the civil administration under Sir Charles Bernard and the military under General Prendergast would quickly restore order.

The hope was not realised. Insurgent tribes and shadowy pretenders in the hills or swamps and on the frontier harassed the army, while the dacoits, or gang-robbers, swept the country wherever the troops were not in force, and even soared to the audacity of sacking and burning a part of Mandalay. Other calamities followed, of which the most serious was the inundation of the city, involving much loss of life and property, by the bursting of a neglected embankment. The situation was further complicated by the death of Sir Herbert Macpherson, who had taken command of the troops in Upper Burmah, and it was then determined that the Indian Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Roberts, should be sent in person to strive to unravel the tangled web of brigandage, disaffection, and rebellion. The task has proceeded slowly, but already good progress has been made.

Our relations with China, in this quarter, were regulated by a convention, concluded by Lord Rosebery just before he left the Foreign Office, which conceded two points to the Chinese Government. The recognition of formal suzerainty by the decennial mission to Pekin was continued, and the mission of Mr. Macaulay to Tibet, for which permission had been previously obtained, was abandoned. China, however, gave up her claim to Bhamo, and promised to open the trade with Yunnan, as well as, more vaguely, to take steps to promote the opening of the Tibetan trade with India.

The restlessness of Russia and France has been an important factor in Chinese policy, though of late both Powers have been less active in the East. The settlement of the Tonquin frontier by the Delimitation Commissioners is proceeding slowly but steadily, and the enterprises of Russia in Corea have been so far laid aside that the British Government have considered it not imprudent to make arrangements for the surrender of Port Hamilton, acquired in the previous year, to the charge of the Chinese. The pretensions of France to a protectorate of the Roman Catholics in China led, in the case of the Peh-tang Cathedral, to direct negotiations between the Pekin Government and the Vatican and the practical exclusion of French influence from this branch of affairs.

The governing fact in European politics during the year has been the restlessness of Russia and France. The possibility of an alliance between two ambitious and unsatisfied Powers was always present to Prince Bismarck's mind, and gave a bent to the policy of Germany, dragging Austria-Hungary along with her, which seemed otherwise unnatural and inexplicable. In Russia, so far as it was possible for the outer world to discover, the policy of the State was the creation of the perverse caprices of the Czar; but in France weakness and levity at home, affecting all parties and the whole frame of government, produced disquietude abroad. M. de Freycinet's return to office, after M. Grévy's re-election and the resignation of M. Brisson, was looked upon as an attempt to renew the *politique de bascule*, but it soon appeared that this Ministry, like those which had gone before, would be compelled to pay a fatal tribute to the demands of the Extremists. M. de Freycinet came in with promises of retrenchment as well as reform and peace; he was to abolish the floating debt, and yet add nothing to the funded

debt, while General Boulanger and Admiral Aube were to reduce largely the cost of army and navy, though increasing the strength of France for offence and defence.

Radicalism, however, was bent on other objects. M. Rochefort's Amnesty Bill, indeed, fell through, as did the first proposal for the expulsion of the Princes ; but the Government were soon forced to enter on the same path. Meanwhile the attitude of Ministers towards the Anarchists and Communists was unpleasantly illustrated during the discussion on the alarming labour conflicts of the winter and spring, especially the strike of the iron-miners against the Decazeville Company. Without apologising for such infamous crimes as the murder of M. Watrin the Government hinted their disapproval of the conduct of capitalists and their reluctance to use force for the vindication of law. At the same time, the protest addressed to the President by the Archbishop of Paris showed how deep was the irritation of all Roman Catholics at the petty persecutions identified with Republicanism.

Pressed by M. Clémenceau's rivalry in the Chamber and by the bullying of the Paris Radicals established at the Hôtel de Ville, M. de Freycinet at length adopted the principle of the Expulsion proposal. The pretext chosen was that the Comte de Paris had held a gathering of his adherents on the occasion of his daughter's marriage, which was ridiculously described as evidence of an "occult" and "rival" Government casting its shadow over the Republic. The Bill, absurd and unjust as it was, passed without much difficulty, though both in the Chamber and the Senate the evils of such legislation were effectively exposed. All the heirs to the rights or claims of those who had reigned in France since the Revolution were driven into exile. The Comte de Paris quitted the country with calm dignity, while Prince Napoleon took the opportunity of firing a parting shot in a scathing review of Republican policy. The Duc d'Aumale was the next victim. He had protested—no doubt, irregularly—in a letter to M. Grévy, against the treatment of officers of unpopular opinions by General Boulanger, the Minister of War, and the latter, in denouncing his censor, was so unlucky as to forget that he had placed on record his personal obligations to the Duke.

General Boulanger's denial of his own handwriting did not, strange to say, interfere with the growth of his popularity

among the masses. His boastful attitude, reproduced in caricature or eulogy in countless broadsheets, was taken as substantial proof that the French army was eager for war, and his hint that France was ready to resume the offensive was seriously discussed in every European capital.

It was significant that an outcry was raised against England in the French Press, and that several causes of quarrel, great and small, were, on a sudden, brought prominently into view just at the moment when Russian projects in the Balkans were ripening. The alliance of Russia with France did not become a reality, and the French insistence on the evacuation of Egypt by England was left unsupported, while Germany had taken grave umbrage at the increase of the French army and the revived cry for the *revanche*. The debates on the Budget showed both vacillation of purpose and confusion of thought in the Government and the Chambers, and the state of things laid bare by M. Sadi-Carnot was sufficiently alarming to the tax-paying *bourgeoisie* and peasantry. M. de Freycinet's colonial policy was not more satisfactory than his finance and his European diplomacy. Tonquin, for which increasing credits were demanded, had developed only a trifling trade, and had cost the country the life of M. Paul Bert. The Madagascar Treaty, paraded a year before as a diplomatic triumph and a final settlement of a costly and protracted controversy, has turned out to be only a new subject of dispute, France repudiating the Appendix defining the terms of the main instrument and the Hova Government refusing to abandon that security for their reserved right of freedom from internal interference.

In these circumstances M. de Freycinet, not unnaturally, slipped out of office on an adverse resolution of the Chamber which was not meant as a vote of want of confidence. His successor was found in M. Goblet, one of the most colourless of his colleagues, who put together as best he could the fragments of M. de Freycinet's Cabinet, including General Boulanger, but was driven, after meeting with refusals in various quarters among tried statesmen and diplomatists, to bestow the portfolio of Foreign Affairs on M. Flourens, a respectable and obscure official of the Council of State.

The ineptitude of French politics ought, it may be supposed, to have tranquillised Germany, but Prince Bismarck seems to

have thought the numbers of the French army, the vapouring of General Boulanger, and the advances towards Russia more worthy of consideration than the intestine divisions, the financial embarrassments, and the unstable Government of France. German policy was obviously guided by a desire to prevent Russia from drawing nearer to France, and, doubtless for this reason, the two central Empires have allowed the Czar to go dangerously far in a course menacing to the peace of Europe and the objects of the Imperial alliance.

The sullen resistance of Russia was the only obstacle to the settlement of the Bulgarian question after the defeat of the Servians and the suspension of hostilities ; but the opening year found that resistance unbroken, the Russian Government opposing the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia under Prince Alexander, and insisting on the restoration of the *status quo ante* according to the strict letter of the Berlin Treaty. This was seen by the other Powers to be impracticable, but it was still possible to obstruct the formation of a strong Bulgarian State, independent of Russian influences, by organised delays and by forcing the Prince into a position of ridiculous impotence. With this object the provision of the Treaty declaring that the Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia was to be nominated by the Porte, with the assent of the Powers, for five years, was enforced on the demand of Russia, and in spite of the remonstrances of England, Austria, and Italy. The Prince refused to acquiesce in conditions which made, and were intended to make, the union of the provinces a precarious one ; but ultimately the representatives of the Powers signed the agreement on this basis.

Meanwhile, intrigues had been going on which threatened serious disturbances in Macedonia, and which it was feared might at any moment reopen the whole Eastern question. The Greek Government, under M. Delyannis, put forward a monstrous demand to be indemnified for the Bulgarian union, and that at the cost of Turkey. For some months Europe was kept in a ferment by preposterous pretensions and absurd armaments.

In France alone did the Greeks meet with any encouragement, for even Philhellenic sentimentalism in this country promptly recognised the fact that M. Delyannis was playing with a match in a powder magazine. Before Lord Salisbury went out of office Mr. Gladstone, in answer to an appeal from

the Demarch of Athens, condemned the inopportune movements of Greek ambition, and when the Liberals came in Lord Rosebery's influence was exerted most strenuously—though not without opposition, it was believed, from Mr. Chamberlain, who had previously championed the Hellenic claims with more zeal than discretion—to put an end to a situation of grave peril. Turkey was compelled to guard her frontier against the Greek army which had been recklessly summoned to the field; and a collision which would have set Macedonia, and indeed the whole Peninsula, in a flame, was averted only by extraordinary good fortune. Diplomacy moved slowly, and the tortuous policy of France multiplied delays, but at length the contumacious evasions of M. Delyannis drove the Powers to withdraw their Ministers from Athens and to send a squadron to blockade the Greek ports. M. Delyannis then resigned and left it to others to deal with the difficulties and the discredit in which his policy had involved his country. A Cabinet, formed by M. Tricoupis, took office to carry out disarmament, and not at all too soon; for serious conflicts between Greek and Turkish troops occurred at the last moment in the borderland.

This troubled state of affairs inevitably bred disquietude among the Bulgarians, nor was their alarm abated by the warlike manifesto of the Czar to the Black Sea fleet, and by the patriotic addresses of Russian societies and municipalities reminding him of the national aspiration to plant the cross on St. Sophia. Among the Bulgarians and Roumelians Russian and Montenegrin emissaries were busy, urging that no real and lasting union could be hoped for till they were rid of Prince Alexander. Plots followed, of which the most alarming was detected and defeated at Bourgas in May, for overthrowing the Government and kidnapping and killing the Prince. These and similar events may be traced, according to a statement made some months later in the Hungarian Delegation by Count Eugen Zichy, to a secret treaty which was concluded in Montenegro during the summer of 1885, aiming at the removal of King Milan and Prince Alexander and the partition of the Balkan States among the family of Prince Nicholas and the Karageorgevitch Pretenders.

The allegiance of the Bulgarians, however, was not shaken. The elections to the Sobranje in June showed a great National majority led by M. Karaveloff, while the Russian party, under

M. Zankoff, were completely outnumbered. The latter carried on the fight with the poisoned weapons of calumny, bribery, and intrigue, and with the aid of foreign gold they were able to bring over to their side a considerable number of officers and two or three regiments. While the menacing reserve of Russia and the sinister activity of the Zankoffists depressed the spirit of the Bulgarians, the plot ripened. Europe was startled towards the close of August by the news that the Prince had been surrounded at night in his palace at Sofia by a body of bribed or disaffected troops, had been seized by a gang of violent officers, had been compelled to sign something purporting to be an abdication, and had been spirited secretly away to some unknown destination. It then became known that he had been put on board one of his own steamers, commanded by a Russian officer, on the Danube, and carried straightway to Reni Russi, in Bessarabia, where the Russian authorities declined either to keep him in custody or to allow him to cross the river to Roumanian territory. Orders presently arrived from St. Petersburg that he was to be sent to Germany through Russia. He was exposed to insult on the way, but when he passed into Austrian territory was enthusiastically welcomed. At Lemberg the Prince learned by telegraph that the conspiracy at Sofia had collapsed, and set out at once on his return journey amid the congratulations of Poles, Roumanians, and Germans. Immediately after the capture of the Prince, Zankoff and the other plotters had proclaimed a provisional Government, audaciously joining the names of the leaders of the National party with their own. The people were perplexed and doubtful, but they were easily undeceived. Colonel Mutkuroff and the best part of the army declared against the conspirators, and, after a vain attempt of Zankoff, aided by his confidant, the Metropolitan Clement, to establish a thoroughly pro-Russian Government, they submitted or fled, and the Prince was once more proclaimed by the voice of the nation. His reception, on his return from Lemberg, was impressive and touching, but it was found that, if the masses and the soldiery were true, the officers and the clergy could not be trusted. After the failure of her partisans, Russia, it was clear, would work all the more by menace and intrigue to reverse the judgment of events.

The Prince made a last appeal, humble and almost abject in

its submissiveness, to the Czar, and the Czar replied in language at once insulting and implacable, intimating that he could not tolerate the conduct of the Bulgarian people in adhering to their legitimate ruler and chosen chief. Thereupon Prince Alexander formally signed his abdication and, committing his powers to the charge of a Regency consisting of the National leaders Stambouloff, Mutkuroff, and Karaveloff, he left the country amid the lamentations of his subjects. The Regents—of whom M. Karaveloff, generally suspected of complicity in the recent plots, afterwards ceased to be one—had no difficulty in restoring a fair measure of order, and the elections for a new Sobranje were quietly completed in spite of the most extraordinary provocations.

General Kaulbars, the Russian Envoy, began a course of proceeding towards the Bulgarians to the like of which no independent community had been subjected in time of peace since the days of Napoleon. He threatened, scolded, presented dictatorial notes, insisted on the release of prisoners accused of treason and other crimes, and produced the universal impression that he desired to provoke the Bulgarians to some act of violence which would justify the interference of Russia. The Bulgarian Government acted with admirable prudence and firmness, and General Kaulbars succeeded only in moving sometimes the indignation and sometimes the laughter of Europe. At length he retired worsted from the field, and Russia, owing to diplomatic pressure, was forced to content herself with opposing the election of Prince Waldemar of Denmark and of any other eligible candidate for the vacant Prinedom. Her own candidate, a Prince of Mingrelia in the Caucasus, never received any support from the Bulgarians, whose Delegates have lately travelled around the European capitals to explain why they cannot accept as their ruler a subject and creature of the Czar. Yet the Russian veto has sufficed to extinguish the chances of Prince Ferdinand of Coburg, to whom the Delegates had made an informal offer, and the German Government, for reasons of its own, is apparently using its influence to induce the Bulgarians to make submission to Russia.

The issue of the singular conflict carried on in Bulgaria was dependent on forces at work elsewhere. The arrogance of Russia and the fall of Prince Alexander were directly due to the cynical attitude of Germany and, in a less degree, of Austria-

Hungary. In those countries the calculated and proclaimed indifference of the Governments to the politics of the Balkans was at first reflected by public opinion, but the outrage at Sofia, the pranks of General Kaulbars, and the imperious contempt of the Czar for the autonomy of Russia's former clients wrought a change. Pesth, Vienna, and Berlin in succession protested indignantly against conduct which was assumed to be sheltered by the Dreikaiserbund, and in Austria-Hungary it was openly argued that the German alliance was not enough to cover the cost of these humiliations and sacrifices.

In England and in Italy the public were equally outspoken. To France Bulgarian liberties were as nothing compared with the chance of a good understanding with Russia. But Turkey was Russia's most serviceable tool, and Gadban Pasha, the Sultan's Envoy, was as active as General Kaulbars himself in striving to induce the Regency to make submission to the Czar. Throughout Europe, however, excluding France and Russia, not only was public opinion hotly indignant, but the most calculating of statesmen were becoming alive to the political dangers of the Czar's reckless career. Prince Bismarck had been willing to give Russia, to a great extent, a "free hand" in order to lessen the chances of a Russo-French alliance, but he had to face the question whether, even to secure this object, Germany could afford to be drawn apart from Austria.

The Hungarians, first of all, and then the Austrian Germans, took alarm at the designs of Russia, now clearly revealed, and independent German opinion quickly became convinced that the two Empires could not be indifferent to Russian domination on the Lower Danube and in the Balkans. The semi-official Press at Berlin was even permitted to censure and satirise General Kaulbars. But the Governments were still silent. No voice of authority had been raised in Europe to protest publicly against the oppression of Bulgaria when Lord Salisbury spoke at the Guildhall on Lord Mayor's Day. His language, though temperate and reserved, was plain. A Russian occupation of Bulgaria, which the Czar's Government had disavowed, would not be endured; but, though England would not take the initiative, which properly belonged to Austria, the Power immediately concerned, she would, if necessary, stand by Austria in defence of treaties and European freedom. Mr.

Gladstone, at the same time, apologised, in his peculiar manner, for not intervening before in favour of Bulgaria, condemning not less distinctly than Lord Salisbury, though much less emphatically, the dictation of Russia and her agents.

The meeting of the Hungarian and Austrian Delegations followed hard upon the Guildhall speech, and Count Kalnoky, pressed by Count Andrassy and Count Zichy, who made the statement already referred to regarding the Secret Partition Treaty, declared that Austria would not tolerate a Russian occupation of Bulgaria, and was confident that the logic of events must retain Germany as ultimate surety for Austrian interests in any possible struggle. The German Government maintained a significant silence, but Count Rabilant, the Foreign Minister of Italy, declared in the most uncompromising language that his Government would uphold respect for treaties and would maintain and, if necessary, develop the understanding with Austria and England. General Kaulbars, meanwhile, had withdrawn with words of menace and insult judiciously ignored by the Bulgarians, who have managed to exist ever since without the light of the presence of Russian Consular officials. If, however, the weight of German influence is to be thrown into the scale in favour of Russia, Austria and Bulgaria will be left to face a dangerous storm. Germany, it seems, is palsied with alarm at the near prospect of a desperate European struggle for mastery, and her tendencies towards the Russian alliance have been confirmed by the blow Lord Randolph Churchill has dealt at the stability of the English Government.

It is probable that the decided attitude of Italy was due, at least in part, to the bitterness which has grown up of late years between the Italians and the French. When France endeavoured to obtain Italian aid in forcing England out of Egypt, the recollection that France had accomplished in Tunis more than all that she charged England with plotting to accomplish on the Nile settled the matter so far as Italy was concerned. The criticisms of M. Waddington were met by Lord Salisbury and Lord Iddesleigh with the obvious answer that our occupation of Egypt would come to an end when the task we had undertaken was finished, when a stable and prosperous Government was founded, and when neither anarchy nor foreign intervention was to be feared.

The negotiations between Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and the Ottoman Commissioner, Mukhtar Pasha, were prolonged during the year without reaching a satisfactory conclusion. The demands at first put forward by Turkey for the control of the army were quite impracticable, looking at the fact that the Turks have always longed to regain their dominion in Egypt which Mehemet Ali overthrew. But the Porte, though admitting without protest Russia's repudiation of the engagement to maintain Batoum as a free port, and interfering in Bulgarian affairs too obviously in the interests of Russia, took no serious measures to promote French policy in Egypt. It is believed that Her Majesty's Government have had to give a sharp warning of some sort to the Porte, and the Turkish war preparations are, therefore, the more disquieting. We may hope, nevertheless, that the Porte may be brought to see that on many points connected with Egyptian affairs the interests of Turkey and of England are closely connected, if not the same.

The internal politics of the chief European States were largely influenced by the diplomatic situation. By far the most important event in Germany was the demand of the Government, towards the close of the year, for an addition, for a term of seven years, of more than 40,000 men to the army, which the Reichstag refused, in the first instance, to grant in full either as to numbers or time. The veteran Moltke intervened to support Prince Bismarck's policy, on the ground of its urgent and imperative necessity. The question was still unsettled when the Reichstag adjourned over Christmas. It is the more significant that the Government should thus propose an addition at once to the burden of military service and of Imperial taxation that already those burdens provoke not a little discontent.

The Socialists, who have continued to trouble the repose both of Germany and Austria, and against whom both Empires have adopted stringent legislative measures, find their account in the murmurs of the masses. Nevertheless, neither in Germany nor in Austria has the labour question presented itself in a form so threatening as in the Latin countries. The strikes in France, to which reference has been made, were paralleled or outdone in Belgium, where Mons, Liége, and Charleroi were terrorised by riotous bands of workmen, and

after terrible destruction of property the disorders were only quelled by the vigorous exercise of military force.

It is curious that Spain, the least settled of the Latin nations, and peculiarly exposed since the death of King Alfonso to revolutionary shocks, should have escaped disaster during a time of so much trial. The birth of the young King in May did much to consolidate the authority of the Regency under the Queen-mother, and the abortive attempts to change the Government by *pronunciamientos* at Cartagena early in the year and some months later at Madrid discredited the revolutionary factions and especially the adherents of Zorilla as much as they strengthened the Sagasta Ministry.

In the United States the difficulties from which so many old countries were suffering began to take a formidable shape. Strikes broke out in the winter among the colliers, the iron-workers, and the *employés* on the tramways and railways. The conflict assumed a more serious character from the intervention of a widely-spread organisation, the "Knights of Labour," who asserted the right to dictate terms everywhere to the masters. The attempts of the Socialists to get the labour movement into their hands were frustrated by the Chicago riots, in which the police were compelled to use firearms against a frantic mob, and order was with difficulty restored. The lesson was not thrown away, and when Most, the well-known firebrand, tried to provoke a rising of the unemployed in New York, he was at once arrested, condemned, and sentenced to imprisonment.

The labour party kept themselves generally separate from the extreme Socialists, and in the autumn put forward Mr. Henry George, the author of *Poverty and Progress* and the economic parent of the Land League in Ireland, as candidate for the important office of Mayor of New York. The municipality had been lately discredited by the discovery of scandalous frauds, and the "Fall" elections—which greatly reduced the Democratic majority in Congress, and placed parties very nearly on a level—increased the chance of an outsider. Mr. George was defeated by Mr. Hewitt, an exceptionally good Democratic candidate; but it is a striking fact that some 67,000 votes were polled for the spokesman of such doctrines as his in the commercial capital of the New World. The Congressional elections were of little more than local import-

ance, except that they seem for the present to have given the *coup de grâce* to free trade in the United States. The President's Message at the beginning of the December session is occupied mainly with questions of finance. A dispute with Mexico over what was known as the "Cutting Case" has been settled, but the Fisheries controversy with Canada and England has not yet been satisfactorily arranged.

It is worth while to notice briefly the prevalence during the year of unpleasant cases in the law courts spun out to excessive length and given an injurious publicity. The divorce suit, "*Crawford v. Crawford and Dilke*," ended in a judgment for the petitioner, but not against the co-respondent, who declined to go into the witness-box. As hardly any one affected to think that Sir Charles Dilke's character had thus been cleared, the intervention of the Queen's Proctor was subsequently sought, but the original judgment, in spite of Sir Charles Dilke's evidence, was sustained. Not less painful was the prolonged litigation between Lord Colin Campbell and his wife, in which, after the most disgraceful accusations had been bandied about on both sides, the cross actions for divorce were dismissed. The action brought by Mr. Adams against his father-in-law, Lord Coleridge, involved a monstrous waste of public time. The conviction of Richard Belt, the sculptor, on a charge of fraud, attracted much interest early in the year; but a more sensational case—in which the present Solicitor-General, Sir Edward Clarke, raised his reputation as an advocate to the highest point—was the trial of Adelaide Bartlett for the murder of her husband, ending in her acquittal, in spite of the damaging evidence of Mr. Dyson, her alleged lover and accomplice.

The horrors of the destruction of Pompeii were almost renewed by the volcanic eruption in New Zealand, which swept away the renowned picturesque surroundings of the famous hot springs. Turning from the convulsions of nature to the achievements of man, we find that M. de Lesseps is hampered in his Panama Canal scheme by the same pecuniary difficulties which on a much smaller scale have for a time put an end to the Manchester Ship Canal. In remarkable contrast with this attitude of capitalists was the extraordinary rush for shares in the brewing business of Messrs. Guinness in Dublin on its conversion into a limited liability company. Public

interest has been vividly aroused by M. Pasteur's experimental treatment of hydrophobia by inoculation, on which the judgment of science is still suspended. Geographers, philanthropists, and politicians are at one in hoping that a successful effort may be made to rescue Gordon's gallant lieutenant, Emin Pasha, who is still holding out, with a scanty garrison and without news from the civilised world, against savage foes.

The obituary of the year, though including many notable names, records few losses of the most serious kind. Mr. Forster, who died just when the Home Rule crisis was ripening, was a statesman opposed throughout a considerable part of his career to the most fatal aberrations of Mr. Gladstone's policy. His blunt, unadorned, but most impressive eloquence was missed, in spite of the abundance of oratory and reasoning on the Unionist side, when measures ruinous at once to England and to Ireland, as Mr. Forster was convinced, were brought forward.

Lord Cardwell, the last survivor of the legitimate Peelites, had outlived his reputation and his powers of active work, but his sound judgment and his administrative capacity had at an earlier day given him a high place among the colleagues of Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone. Sir Erskine May, the highest authority in our time on the law of Parliament, was raised to the peerage, on his retirement from the Clerkship of the House of Commons, as Lord Farnborough, but died before he had taken his place in the Upper House. About the same time the House of Lords lost in Lord Redesdale an able and experienced, though an imperious and sometimes pedantic Chairman of Committees.

Dr. Trench, formerly Dean of Westminster and Archbishop of Dublin; Dr. Thompson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; and Dr. Tulloch, Principal of St. Andrews University, were all men of mark in the academic and ecclesiastical world.

Among other deaths must be mentioned those of Lord Monkswell, better known as Sir Robert Collier, an eminent judge and an excellent artist; Mr. Ayrton, an able though unpopular member of Mr. Gladstone's first Administration; Sir Charles Trevelyan, Lord Macaulay's brother-in-law, a distinguished Indian civilian, and one of the authors of the competitive examination system; Lord Wavenny, who was one of the leaders of the Ulster Liberals in their revolt against Home

Rule ; Lord Dalkeith, the heir of the dukedom of Buccleuch, cut off in his early promise by a lamentable accident while deer-stalking ; Sir Douglas Forsyth, a high authority on the politics and geography of Central Asia ; Sir Henry Taylor, a patriarch of English letters ; Sir Herbert Macpherson, who, after brilliant service in the Afghan and Egyptian campaigns, was in command of the forces in Burmah ; Mr. Justice Pearson, a sound Equity Judge ; Mr. Samuel Morley, Admiral Bedford Pim, and Mr. Duncan Maclaren, once familiar figures in the House of Commons ; Mr. Flowers, a most able police magistrate ; Mr. Barnes, the author of some delightful poems in the Dorsetshire dialect ; Mr. Bennett, of Frome, formerly of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, a leader in his day of the Ritualistic movement ; Mr. J. L. Hatton, the composer ; Mr. Caldecott, the artist ; and Fred. Archer, the most renowned of jockeys.

France has lost in the Duc Decazes an ex-Minister who was in his time a considerable personage in politics ; in the Comte de St. Vallier a skilful and trusty diplomatist ; in M. Paul Bert an eminent man of science, but less successful statesman, sacrificed to the pestilential climate of Tonquin ; and in M. Gabriel Charmes an indefatigable critic of English policy in Egypt.

The lamentable death, by suicide, at Tegernsee, where he was secluded under medical care, of King Ludwig of Bavaria, followed almost immediately upon his deposition, only adopted under urgent necessity and after his mental alienation had been superabundantly proved. The illustrious names of Ranke and Scheffel will be missed from the roll of German men of letters. Count Beust had taken a leading part in the reconstruction of the Austrian polity, and Signor Minghetti had been one of the foremost statesmen of United Italy, but for some years they had ceased to be active political forces. Liszt, the most gifted and the most eccentric of musicians, passed away in the splendour of a revived fame. Hobart Pasha, an English sailor of traditional enterprise and courage, was better known in the closing years of his energetic life as the organiser of the Turkish navy.

The United States lost Mr. Arthur, who had succeeded to the Presidency on General Garfield's death, Mr. C. F. Adams, American Minister to this country during the Civil War, and Mr. Tilden, for a long time the leader of the Democratic party

and candidate for the Presidency at the contested election of 1876.

In India two great feudatory Princes, the Maharajah Scindia and the Maharajah Holkar, the rulers of the rival Mahratta States, Gwalior and Indore, were cut off, in middle life, about the same time.

## 1887

THE year which comes to an end to-day, though not distinguished by any events of first-rate importance either at home or abroad, will leave its mark in the national annals. It was, in the first place, signalised by the celebration, on a magnificent scale and with a matchless representation of all the constituent peoples and polities in the British Empire, of the Queen's Jubilee. The gloomiest of pessimists were compelled to admit that this spontaneous movement of loyalty, fortified by affectionate reverence for the person and the dignity of the Sovereign, afforded strong and most encouraging proof of the stability of monarchical institutions among the English race; and the impression has been deepened by the troubles through which our nearest neighbours are passing. The splendid ceremony in Westminster Abbey, and the military and naval pageants which followed, may have been rivalled or surpassed in other countries, but the enormous concourse of people in the streets of London, the very eccentricities of ornament and illumination, and the presence of spokesmen for Her Majesty's faithful subjects from every quarter of the globe, made up a spectacle as imposing as it was unique.

Nor was this solemn national thanksgiving for the unparalleled progress of the Empire during the fifty years of the Queen's reign devoid of political results. The tendency to a closer union between the mother country and her daughter nations has been stimulated, and the loyal attachment of the feudatory Princes of India has been manifested by the example of the Nizam's munificent gift. The interest aroused by this interlude of sentiment in the midst of keen political struggles has been prolonged by popular sympathy with the Queen and

her family in the sorrow that has fallen upon them through the grave illness of the Crown Prince of Germany, the husband of our own Princess Royal.

The pleasant associations of the Jubilee year will not be poisoned by the memory of public misfortunes. In spite of an organised attempt to turn to political account the discontent of the unemployed, always numerous in so vast an agglomeration of human beings as London, it is certain that during the year the social condition of the United Kingdom has been steadily improving. There are some signs that the long depression from which commerce, industry, and agriculture have been suffering is yielding to more favourable influences, so far, at least, as traders and manufacturers are concerned. The farming interest is still overweighted by low prices and foreign competition, though the statements as to the amount of land that has gone out of cultivation have been shown to be exaggerated. The harvest, in spite of a prolonged drought, was fairly abundant, but the market values were unremunerative, while live stock suffered from scarcity of feed. Hence the revival of the fair trade agitation, which, under its new name of fiscal reform, was sprung upon the Convention of Conservative caucuses at Oxford, where Mr. Howard Vincent carried a resolution condemning free imports by a large majority, though not without a protest.

Mr. Chaplin, however, at a subsequent meeting of the Chamber of Agriculture, disavowed protectionist doctrines, and the impossibility of reconciling the demands of the farmers and of the manufacturers was tacitly acknowledged by the absence of almost all representative politicians from the meeting of fiscal reformers at St. James's Hall. The discontent among the commercial and industrial classes had abated as the prospects of trade improved. The Board of Trade returns, despite the perturbing effect of European war scares, grew more and more encouraging, and the movement in the United States against excessive duties was accepted as a warning. Statesmen were the less disposed to trifle with the fair trade cry, because the state of public credit was so good as to bring the conversion of the national debt once more within the range of possibility, and the revenue was coming in satisfactorily. Liberals of all shades of opinion denounced a retrograde policy, the Conservative leaders threw cold water on Mr. Howard Vincent's

inopportune move, and the demand of the Convention, cleverly captured at Oxford, elicited no popular response. The Government have been happily able to strengthen a weak point in the free trade position by the conclusion of the Sugar Bounties Convention, binding the leading States of the civilised world to make a simultaneous effort to shake off the burden of the bounty system.

It is largely due to the loyalty and steadiness with which the Unionist alliance was maintained during the year that Lord Hartington was able at a critical moment to protest decisively against any attempt to return to a protective system. The Separatists did not for a long time abandon the hope that the Liberal Unionists would be lured or driven back to the Gladstonian camp. They rejoiced over the difficulties in which Lord Salisbury's Government was plunged, as the year opened, by Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation; they tried to find matter for consolation in the alleged ill-treatment of Lord Iddesleigh and the discontent of his friends, in Mr. Goschen's defeat at Liverpool after his acceptance of office, and in the vacancy created by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's withdrawal from active political life on the eve of the introduction of the Crimes Bill.

But these expectations were disappointed. The Government, with Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office, Mr. W. H. Smith as leader of the House of Commons, Mr. Goschen as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Balfour as Irish Secretary, soon appeared to be stronger instead of weaker; and, on all questions involving the maintenance of Ministers in power, the Liberal Unionists refused to give any vote that would have had the effect of reviving Mr. Gladstone's ill-omened Irish policy and restoring him to office. As this became clear, the Gladstonians adopted the tactics avowed from the first by the more unscrupulous of the Radicals and by the Parnellites, who declared that the Government should not be allowed either to administer or to legislate, and especially that measures for restoring the authority of law in Ireland must be prevented from passing. Obstruction, direct and indirect, was carried to lengths unheard of before, and the longest and most laborious Parliamentary session on record was saved from complete futility only by the repeated and rigorous application of the closure.

In Ireland, at the same time, the National League was

working hard to make good its assertion that it could trample on the Queen's writ and defy the forces of the Crown. The Plan of Campaign was brought into operation over a large area, and not only against landlords whose conduct was open to severe criticism, such as Lord Clanricarde or Colonel O'Callaghan, but upon the Lansdowne and the Brooke estates, where the owners were liberal and the tenants well-to-do. Resistance by organised mob violence to eviction and other forms of legal process was backed up by a systematic terrorism, by boycotting, and, when necessary to enforce the "unwritten law" by outrage. Mr. O'Brien's expedition to Canada to denounce Lord Lansdowne merely excited the contemptuous anger of the Canadians, and ended in dismal failure, while it helped to open the eyes of Englishmen to the real aims and methods of the League.

Meanwhile the Separatists had another string to their bow. The "round table" negotiations, between Lord Herschell, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Morley on one side, and Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan on the other, were intended to reconcile Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy with the views of the Liberal Unionists; and, though Lord Hartington refused to commit himself beforehand, the Home Rulers were confident that the Liberals who had rejected the measures of 1886 would be satisfied with the assurance that the Bills were "dead." If Sir George Trevelyan already showed signs of weakness, Mr. Chamberlain was not likely to be contented with vague promises and undefined concessions on points of detail, so long as Mr. Gladstone held the ground he took up when he allied himself with the Parnellites. Mr. Chamberlain dwelt on this in some forcible speeches, insisting also on the impossibility of re-union while the Gladstonians encouraged lawlessness in Ireland and obstruction in Parliament. Sir William Harcourt and his friends seized the opportunity to break off the negotiations, casting the blame of their failure on Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Gladstone attempted to put his formidable critic in the wrong by offering at Swansea to treat every point in his Home Rule scheme as open to discussion.

The Liberal Unionists, however, were not satisfied with undefined concessions, which were still dominated by the paramount condition that the settlement should be satisfactory to the Parnellites. The conduct of the Gladstonians had

shown that they could not be trusted without the most stringent guarantees. Not only had they abetted obstruction and tolerated rowdyism in Parliament, apologised for resistance to the law and defended the Plan of Campaign, but they had shown a cynical indifference to the close and continuing relations, established in the *Times*, mainly on the unimpeachable evidence of Separatist writings and speeches in Ireland and the United States, between "Parnellism and Crime," and to the fact that their allies were, as they still are, drawing their pay from the Irish-American advocates and organisers of murderous outrage and dynamite plots. The warnings published in the *Times* against plans for signalising the Jubilee by some terrible crime—warnings which have since been confirmed by the action of the police—were derided, and the assistance of Parnellite speakers in political campaigning was eagerly welcomed. Lord Hartington was compelled to remark upon this altered position of the Gladstonians, while he urged that the dangerous principles discerned in the Home Rule Bill had not been withdrawn in the Swansea speech. Mr. Gladstone, however, succeeded in winning over Sir George Trevelyan, a willing convert, who was not long afterwards returned as a Gladstonian candidate for the Bridgeton division of Glasgow.

In contesting the seats which fell vacant during the summer the opponents of the Government relied mainly on the anti-coercion cry, but owed, perhaps, more to the irritation against administrative errors, from which all Ministries after a time begin to suffer. The gain of four seats by the Gladstonians, at Burnley, Northwich, Coventry, and Spalding, and the diminution of the Unionist majority elsewhere, bred the most extravagant hopes among the Separatists. They persuaded themselves that, though Parliament had passed the Crimes Act, it would be possible to nullify it in practice, and English politicians, mostly Radicals of no particular mark, joined with the leaders of the League in encouraging the Irish masses to resist the law. Great efforts were required to organise resistance, for the proclamations promptly issued under the Crimes Act had cowed the forces of disorder.

Mr. Parnell, who had retired from active politics during the session, now altogether disappeared, and, as it afterwards turned out, was living under an assumed name in the suburbs of London, leaving Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon to "stand in

the gap." Mr. O'Brien was the first to come into conflict with the law. On the day appointed for his trial under the Crimes Act at Mitchelstown for inciting to resist legal process, a disorderly crowd gathered to overawe the Bench, and a collision with the police ensued, in which the latter were roughly handled, and, after flying for shelter to the barracks, fired on their assailants, and killed three of them. A verdict of wilful murder was found, after a long and disorderly inquiry before the coroner, against the police. Mr. O'Brien, on the other hand, was convicted by the magistrates, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. The Act, however, provided for an appeal, which could only be heard at the ensuing Quarter Sessions.

Other prosecutions for similar offences followed, but while the appeals were pending the accused continued their defiant speeches. The charge against Mr. Sullivan, Lord Mayor of Dublin, for publishing reports of the meetings of suppressed branches of the League was dismissed on a technical point, but the decision was overruled by the higher Court, and Mr. Sullivan was subsequently imprisoned on another conviction for a similar offence. Mr. O'Brien's appeal had been previously rejected at Quarter Sessions, and he was committed at first to Cork and then to Tullamore Gaol. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, one of the Separatist emissaries, was convicted at Woodford for inciting to resist the law, and his appeal remains to be decided. Other patriots evaded summonses and warrants and betook themselves to flight, while Mr. Dillon thought it an opportune time for imparting political instruction to Englishmen. But, in spite of delays, whether avoidable or otherwise, the Crimes Act began to make itself felt, under Mr. Balfour's firm and able administration, and the power of the League has already been much weakened.

The outcry against "coercion" as a policy was now augmented by clamour against the administration of the law, and the Separatists developed a system of tactics in which reckless misstatement, unabashed by the exaction of apologies, was reinforced by attempts, in the interests of a party claiming to be the special champions of free speech, to break up Unionist meetings. Mr. Gladstone, in addressing the National Liberal Federation at Nottingham, went out of his way to repeat and reiterate the war-cry he had already invented,

"Remember Mitchelstown"; he further suggested for the edification of mobs that "the people" had a right to determine whether the police were justified in interfering with them, and, if there appeared to be no justification, might lawfully resist. These doctrines were soon applied where they were less easily tolerated than in Ireland. Large gatherings of the unemployed in Trafalgar Square were addressed by Socialistic agitators with the undisguised object of terrorising the well-to-do, and great injury was inflicted on business in the West End.

After some hesitation, the authorities prohibited the meetings, but the promoters of the agitation attempted to have their way. Fortunately, the police were too strong for the disorderly, but some serious conflicts occurred on Sunday, 13th November, and the rioters were not finally cowed till the Guards had been called out. A further proclamation was issued by Sir Charles Warren, forbidding all meetings in the Square, and all processions in the neighbourhood, and a large number of special constables were sworn in. After one more unsuccessful attempt to defy the order, the movement collapsed. When the critical fight had been won, a letter was published, in which Mr. Gladstone recanted his Nottingham doctrines, and counselled the people in London to give way to the police pending the trial of any legal questions that might be raised, as in the case of Mr. Cunningham Graham, M.P., who has been prosecuted for resisting and assaulting the police.

Nor was this the only topic touched upon by Mr. Gladstone at Nottingham, which, if he had retained any hope of winning back the allegiance of the Liberal Unionists, he would have done well to avoid. The currency which he gave, on the hearsay evidence of Professor Stuart, to an unfounded charge against Colonel Dopping, a land agent in Donegal, led to a threat of legal proceedings, averted by a humiliating retraction, of which it must be said that it only becomes intelligible when we treat the original statement as meaningless. Of still graver import, as a moral symptom, was his treatment of the question of disestablishment. Throwing overboard all his former convictions on this subject, Mr. Gladstone placed himself in an attitude of avowed opportunism, inciting the opponents of establishment in Scotland to take example by Wales and to return an overwhelming Home Rule majority, and intimating

that, when they had carried out the Gladstonian policy in Ireland, they might do as they pleased with the Church.

Mr. Gladstone's sophistries were echoed and expanded by Sir William Harcourt, Lord Rosebery, and Sir George Trevelyan; and other Gladstonians strove to make a grievance out of Mr. O'Brien's treatment in gaol, where, having refused to wear prison clothes, he took to his bed till a new tweed suit was smuggled in for his use. Mr. Childers, copying the absurd declamation of the Irish town councils, denounced this as "moral torture"; but the British public laughed at the woes of Mr. O'Brien and his wardrobe, more especially when it was shown that Sir George Trevelyan had put several of Mr. O'Brien's colleagues into prison clothes and on the plank bed. Both Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Sullivan, indeed, met with exceptional indulgence—the former on grounds of health, the latter on those of age.

At the same time the Government were resolved that the deterrent effect of the law should not be watered down, and Mr. Balfour's quiet determination, together with his cheery indifference to abuse, has brought him a large measure of popularity. The Liberal Unionists, too, have done their part in repelling the dangerous alliance of unscrupulous opportunism with revolutionists and anarchists. Mr. Chamberlain, shortly before leaving for the United States as a member of the Canadian Fisheries Commission, visited Ulster, and in a series of vigorous speeches drew attention to the importance of the loyal, industrious, prosperous, and mainly Protestant people of North-Eastern Ireland as a factor in the problem ignored by those who made their bargain with the stipendaries of Ford and Egan. Not long afterwards Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen were invited to Dublin, where they were welcomed with hearty enthusiasm by the representatives of commerce, industry, education, and professional skill. Lord Hartington's language in declaring for the maintenance of the Union and the support of legality against lawlessness was more uncompromising than ever, and afterwards, when addressing his constituents in Rossendale, he showed why it was impossible, as matters stand, to come to terms with Mr. Gladstone.

This view was more fully developed at the great Liberal Unionist demonstration in the Westminster Town Hall, when the Gladstonian position, the state of Ireland, and the duty of

those Liberals who stand by union and by law were discussed in a series of brilliant and weighty speeches by Lord Hartington, Lord Derby, Lord Selborne, Mr. Goschen, Sir Henry James, and the Duke of Argyll, the last, perhaps, bearing away the palm for trenchant epigram and conclusive reasoning. Mr. Balfour clenched the practical argument against the Separatists, before his constituents at Manchester, by a frank and telling vindication of the conduct of the Irish Executive and a damaging exposure of Gladstonian misrepresentations, the effect of which has since been manifest in the impotent anger of Sir William Harcourt. Mr. Gladstone's appeals to anarchic and Separatist passions have produced some dangerous consequences in Wales, where resistance to the payment of tithes has been organised, and the doctrines of spurious Nationalism are strengthened by a movement against the Church and the landlords.

The European situation remains at the close of the year, as at its opening, wrapped in anxious uncertainty. It is possible that international rivalries, which are so manifest and unabated that even Ministerial optimism only ventures to discredit apprehensions of immediate conflict, would have brought the Continental Powers to an open rupture if France had not been paralysed by internal dissensions. M. Goblet's Ministry was never regarded as long-lived, and the feelings aroused by General Boulanger's behaviour at the War Department precipitated a crisis which, though staved off for a while, enforced the resignation of the Government in May, nominally on a question of finance.

M. Goblet was succeeded by M. Rouvier, the twenty-second Premier of France since the proclamation of the Republic in 1870, who was destined to as brief a tenure of office. President Grévy was believed to have resolved not only to exclude General Boulanger, whose reckless language, as well as his demands for an increased army vote, had given an excuse for German alarms, but also M. Clémenceau, the most powerful and politic chief of the Radicals. This would not, however, have been possible if the Monarchists had not taken advantage of the divisions among the Republicans, throwing their weight now to the side of the Moderates, now to that of the Extremists, as it appeared that there was the greater chance of creating troubles.

The activity of the Orleanists was most conspicuous, though

both Prince Victor and his father, Prince Napoleon, issued appeals to the nation to keep the memory of their cause alive. The Republican feuds became more fierce ; General Boulanger replied to the bitter criticisms of M. Ferry by a challenge, which was not accepted ; and the situation was complicated by the prominence given to the party of the *revanche* headed by M. Déroulède, a Chauvinist fanatic, and patronised for the moment by revolutionists like M. Rochefort. This outburst of Chauvinism was stimulated by the provocative language of the German Press early in the year, when Prince Bismarck was eager to get his Army Bill passed, by the trials for treason at Leipsic of the Alsatian Separatists, and by the unfortunate occurrences on the frontier, when M. Schnaebele was arrested, and afterwards when a German sentinel fired on a party of French sportsmen. The German Government made amends handsomely for any wrong done in these cases, but the effect on public opinion could not be obliterated. The Comte de Paris prepared for the possibility of a restoration by issuing a manifesto practically identifying the policy of his party with that of the anti-Parliamentary Bonapartists. When the Chambers reassembled in the autumn, there was a determination in several quarters to bring about an explosion, and the materials, unhappily, were not wanting. The accidental discovery of corrupt transactions, in which some officials connected with the War Department were implicated, set the spark to the train.

Charges of corruption were urged both by Radicals and Reactionaries against M. Wilson, the President's son-in-law, and the Ministry were weak enough to attempt to avert a full inquiry. Taking advantage of this blunder, the Right abandoned M. Rouvier and joined the Extreme Left in defeating Ministers, who thereupon resigned. But the Ministerial crisis forthwith became a Presidential one. The legal investigation, tardily consented to, brought to light the complicity of the police in alleged tampering with documents and suppression of evidence in M. Wilson's interest ; and popular opinion, excited by the violent invectives of the Press, refused to exonerate M. Grévy, who found it impossible to replace M. Rouvier, and was told by the Republican leaders of all shades that his resignation had become a necessity. After a considerable delay, during which public excitement was dangerously stimulated, M. Grévy resigned, protesting against proceedings which compromised the dignity

and stability of the Presidency ; the Senate and the Chamber were convened as a Congress for the election of his successor, and the Right had the power of securing the victory for M. Ferry, the head of the Opportunists, who was opposed by M. de Freycinet, the nominee of M. Clémenceau and the Radicals.

Acting, however, on the cynical calculation that their interests would be served by prolonging the crisis and discrediting the Republic, the Right threw away their votes on General Saussier ; while the Republicans, closing up their ranks in view of the dangers of continued uncertainty, withdrew the original competitors and elected M. Sadi-Carnot, grandson of the famous War Minister of the Revolution, as M. Grévy's successor. The Monarchists, whose intrigues and manifestoes had multiplied during the autumn, were thus checkmated, but the truce of parties could not be deemed permanent. President Carnot was unable to get together any strong Republican combination, owing to the mutual jealousies of Opportunists and Radicals. M. Tirard's stop-gap Cabinet is not expected to last, but for the present the strife of factions is suspended, at least till after *le Jour de l'An*. The violence of partisanship has been somewhat shamed by the attempt to murder M. Ferry in the lobby of the Chamber ; for, though the assassin has been recognised as a lunatic, it cannot be doubted that the direction was given to his madness by the frantic language of the Radical Press.

The activity displayed by General Boulanger when in office, his airs as a popular hero since he was relegated to a provincial command, and the adulation of Russia professed by M. Déroulède and the partisans of the *revanche*, have furnished Prince Bismarck throughout with reasons for insisting that Germany should maintain her attitude of armed watchfulness. The rejection by the Reichstag of the Army Bill, granting estimates for an increased force and for a term of seven years, was met early in the year by a dissolution, which gave the Chancellor a working majority of Conservatives and National Liberals and paralysed the Radicals, while it showed a disquieting augmentation of the Socialist vote. The war scare which shook the European Bourses quickly died away, but the relations between the Continental Powers remained uneasy.

The language of the Russian newspapers towards Germany as well as Austria became more and more bitter, and though the menacing speech of the Grand Duke Nicholas in toasting

the French alliance was disavowed, more or less candidly, the presence of M. Déroulède at M. Katkoff's funeral was taken as a sign of the drift of national sympathies. It could not be disguised, however, that French sympathies and antipathies were an unsafe standing-ground for Russian policy while the political future of France remained dark and doubtful.

Accordingly Russia maintained an attitude of reserve on the Bulgarian question while resisting any settlement. The Regency, failing to obtain the sanction of the Powers, but successfully keeping order in spite of Russian intrigue and occasional hostile pressure from Turkey, at last induced Prince Ferdinand of Coburg to accept the offer of the vacant principedom, though not without delays and futile overtures to the Czar which threw doubt on his good faith. Without encouragement from any quarter, Prince Ferdinand repaired to Sofia, was cordially received by the Bulgarians, and, in spite of the provisional character of his power, which Germany as well as Russia refused to recognise, established his position, as was shown at the recent general election, with a fair measure of success. Still the question is not closed, and Russia may at any moment take advantage of it to force on a contest with Austria. Moreover, in Berlin and Vienna the feeling has gained ground that it may be the interest of Germany and Austria to bring about a quarrel before Russia gets too strong and has France as an active ally. Whether one or other side will choose to precipitate a strife of doubtful issue is the problem of the hour.

The concentration of Russian troops on the frontier of Austrian Poland has caused grave uneasiness both in Berlin and Vienna, and the German newspapers have been urging upon Austria the imperative necessity for adopting vigorous measures of defence or counter-movement. Prince Bismarck also has been labouring by diplomatic means to smooth over the difficulty. He had already been temporarily successful, for when the Czar visited Berlin in the autumn he received from the Chancellor satisfactory explanations of statements, based, it is alleged, on forgeries concocted in the interest of Prince Ferdinand, tending to alienate Russia from Germany. It is impossible, however, to explain away the cardinal facts of the situation.

Prince Bismarck's policy has piled up what seems a higher and more solid barrier in the path of Russian ambition. The national enthusiasm for the unity and the greatness of Germany

was displayed when the Emperor's ninetieth birthday was celebrated, and this sentiment is now incorporated with the maintenance of the alliance with Austria-Hungary, regarded as an outpost of German civilisation.

It is not unimportant to note that a better understanding was established with the Vatican before the general election in the spring. But far more significant is the open adhesion of Italy to the alliance of the Central Powers. It was feared that the death of Signor Depretis would weaken the bonds uniting Italian policy with that of Germany and Austria; but these bonds, on the contrary, have been strengthened under Signor Crispi, who visited Prince Bismarck at Friedrichsruh early in October, and on his return home announced that Italy had allied herself with the two Empires for the maintenance of European peace. He also intimated, though more obscurely, that an understanding between Italy and England had secured the *status quo* in the Mediterranean. The German Press gave prominence to these statements; and it is now generally understood that if Austria should be menaced by Russia or Germany by France, the Italian army will form part of the defensive system, and the English fleet, in conjunction with the Italian navy, will be able absolutely to guarantee the coasts and the ports of Italy against a French descent.

How far the guarantee of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean practically embraces the British occupation of Egypt may be a matter of controversy, but the turn affairs have taken may cause Frenchmen, at least, to regret that French and Russian influences were exerted at Constantinople to obstruct the Convention regulating the Egyptian situation negotiated by Sir Henry Drummond Wolff. Henceforward, at any rate, it will be impossible to assert that England has not made a reasonable offer for the fulfilment of the pledges given by Mr. Gladstone's Government. The Convention for securing the neutrality of the Suez Canal exempts the artificial water-way from blockade and military operations, and ensures free passage to ships of all nations both during peace and war. In other respects the policy of the Porte has been shifty and uncertain, now leaning towards Russia, now towards England, and again fitfully following German counsels.

Of other European States there is little to be said. Spain, if a judgment may be formed from the welcome given to the

governed by mere diplomatic traditions, but by a business-like view of the whole case. It is unfortunate, no doubt, that the work of the Commission should have to be done on the eve of a Presidential election, when party spirit is at its height.

Mr. Cleveland's Message to Congress at the opening of the present session is likely to reanimate the moribund parties of the United States by raising a new and vital issue. The President's condemnation of the existing tariff is not based theoretically on free trade grounds, but on the practical argument that it is monstrous to extract from the pockets of the community taxes, to the amount of many millions, not required for the ordinary business of government. Nevertheless, both Protectionists and Freetraders perceive that, if Mr. Cleveland's policy be carried out, a great advance will be made towards free trade. On this issue, it seems probable, parties will be reconstructed and the Presidential contest of 1888 decided. It is still possible, however, that Mr. Cleveland may be forced to recede from his position by the timidity and the divisions of his followers.

The most important name in the obituary of the year is that of Lord Iddesleigh, better known as Sir Stafford Northcote, whose scrupulous fairness of mind and unruffled geniality of temper in the trying position of leader of the House of Commons had won him the affectionate regard of men of all parties. Lord Lyons, the most accomplished and experienced of English diplomatists, had retired from the Paris embassy, where he has been succeeded by Lord Lytton, just before he was struck down by his last illness.

Among others well known in the political or social world of England who have passed away during the year may be mentioned Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Newdegate, Sir William M'Arthur, and Mr. Rylands, who had been so long familiar figures in Parliament; Lord Wolverton, the most faithful of Mr. Gladstone's followers; Lord and Lady Dalhousie, cut off by a strange and sad fate within a few days of one another; General Valentine Baker, best known as Baker Pasha, the rank he had won in the Turkish and Egyptian armies; Sir Joseph Whitworth, a great name in the world of industry and invention; Sir Philip Wodehouse, Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Henry Gordon, Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir John Mellor, and Mr. Justice Lawson, who had served the State well in different spheres of duty; Jenny Lind, in her day the most renowned of operatic singers:

Sir George Macfarren, a life-long labourer in the cause of musical education ; Mr. Thring, head master of Uppingham ; Serjeant Ballantine, Lady Brassey, Professor Spencer Baynes, Mr. Mackonochie of St. Albans, Holborn ; Mrs. Craik, the author of *John Halifax* ; Mr. Richard Jefferies, the author of *The Game-keeper at Home* ; Sir George Burrows, the Nestor of the medical profession ; Mr. Palgrave Simpson, the dramatist ; and Archbishop M'Gettigan, the Roman Catholic Primate of Ireland.

A broad the list of eminent men who have passed away during the year is a scanty one. In Michael Katkoff, the famous editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, Russia parted with the very embodiment of her national spirit and a power in the State scarcely second to the Czar himself. France lost M. Raoul Duval, a Conservative who had frankly accepted the Republic ; Admiral Jauréguiberry, and M. Paul Féval, a veteran romancist ; Germany, Herr Krupp, the founder of the vast ironworks and gun factories at Essen ; and Professor Ronge, the theologian ; Italy, Signor Depretis, one of the ablest of the statesmen of the monarchy, and Cardinal Jacobini, the Papal Secretary of State ; Belgium, M. Gallait, the painter ; the United States, Mr. Tilden, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1876, and Mr. Washburne, formerly Minister in Paris. Langiewicz, the leader of the Poles in the insurrection of 1863, and Father Beckx, formerly "General" of the Jesuits, can hardly be described as belonging to any country.

## 1888

THE increasing violence of party spirit in domestic politics and the continued sense of an unstable equilibrium in the international relations of all the leading Powers have marked 1888 as a year of turbulence and disquietude at home and abroad. Europe has witnessed, what is without example in modern history, the death, in swift succession, of two German Emperors, now the most powerful of Continental rulers. In the United Kingdom there has been a moderate and steady revival of trade, a tolerably favourable harvest, and an improvement in the public credit mainly due to Mr. Goschen's financial operations; but prosperity has not been so striking as to quench the hopes of agitators.

The Gladstonian and Parnellite Opposition, fused together by the compact of their leaders and the common purpose of reconquering power, assailed the Ministry and the Ministerial policy with a vehemence and a disregard for scruples which might have been expected, perhaps, to produce a greater effect. After a succession of "excursions and alarms," the Opposition, though they have gained a couple of seats, stand at the end of the year pretty nearly where they stood at the beginning. They have failed either to create a reaction in favour of Home Rule in the constituencies or to shake the Government in the House of Commons.

The only important Ministerial change has been the return of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach to the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade in succession to Lord Stanley of Preston. Lord Salisbury and his colleagues have lost no ground in public esteem. Mr. Goschen has added to his high reputation as a financier, Mr. Ritchie has established his position as a politician

capable of dealing ably with large measures, and, above all, Mr. Balfour's courage and resolution, his imperturbable temper, his skill in oratorical fence and his trenchant powers of reasoning have brought him into the very front rank of contemporary statesmen.

On the other side there is little change to be noted. Mr. Gladstone continues to display energy and spirit marvellous in a man entering on his eightieth year, and, at the same time, to exhibit an ever-diminishing amount of discretion and dignity; Sir William Harcourt has completely assimilated the methods and the manners of his Parnellite allies, and Mr. Morley has shown how it is possible for the speculative theorist to sink, in the whirl of faction, into the reckless partisan. Mr. Parnell, even before the Special Commission was appointed, assumed an attitude of curious reserve, leaving the active labours and risks of confronting the law to Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien. He was entertained at the "purged" Eighty Club in the spring, and then astonished his hosts, whose chiefs had been vindicating or apologising for the Plan of Campaign, by his condemnation of that policy.

The extraordinary attention paid, especially by the Opposition, to bye-elections throughout the year surpassed even the anxiety shown by Mr. Gladstone in presence of a much more striking series of contests fifteen years ago, culminating in the disaster at Stroud which precipitated the dissolution of 1874. The Winchester election, which showed a considerable increase in the Conservative vote, and that at Dundee, which showed a considerable decrease in the Separatist vote, were encouraging to the Unionists, but the large Radical gain on the polling in Southwark and Mr. Buchanan's return in West Edinburgh after his perversion to Home Rule more than redressed the balance, until the Doncaster division was won by a Unionist and the seat at Deptford, where Mr. Evelyn, the retiring Conservative member, had placed his influence at the disposal of Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, was held, notwithstanding, against the Separatists by an adequate majority. In Mid Lanark the Gladstonians maintained their ground, in spite of a split with the extreme Labour party. In the Gower division, however, among the most Radical of Welshmen, the Gladstonian majority was reduced from 3000 to 600.

The Separatists, it may be admitted, had more to boast of at

Southampton and in the Ayr Burghs, where they won two seats, mainly through the unfortunate selection of Unionist candidates. In the Isle of Thanet Mr. James Lowther, who was opposed by a popular Gladstonian, fell far short of Colonel King-Harman's poll. At Dewsbury, on the other hand, Mr. Arnold Forster added largely to the Unionist vote, against an influential local Home Ruler. Nor had the Opposition much to congratulate themselves upon in Merthyr, where the nominee of the Caucus, with special credentials from Mr. Gladstone himself, was severely beaten by an independent Radical. In Holborn, though the Unionist battle was fought under every disadvantage as compared with that of 1886, Lord Compton was defeated by nearly 1000 votes. At Maidstone, also, the seat was held, though the Unionist majority was lowered. At Colchester the Unionist majority was largely augmented, and at Stockton, though Sir Horace Davey was returned, his Conservative opponent, who had been beaten by upwards of 1000 in 1885 and 1886, fell short of success by only 395 votes, the result, in both cases, being largely due to the energy of the Liberal section of the Unionist party.

During the year, furthermore, the Unionists vacated and recovered without an attempt at contest no fewer than seven seats in Great Britain, and the Separatists one only. In Ireland the Parnellites still "hold the field." The local fluctuations of electoral fortune give no support to Mr. Gladstone's theory that the Liberal Unionist voters are coming round to his side, and that the Liberal Unionist leaders will soon be left without a following. The latter, certainly, have never been more determined or more energetic in their resistance to Mr. Gladstone's policy, which has now taken the form not only of Separatism applied directly to Ireland, and dangled as a bribe before sectional interests in Wales and Scotland, but of anarchy and defiance of all constituted authority wherever it suits a local majority to resist the law. The adoption by the Gladstonians, in spite of repeated disproof, of the grossest calumnies and misrepresentations of the Parnellites has strengthened the Liberal Unionist protest, and, since the failure of the hopes entertained by the Separatists that their opponents would quarrel over the question of local government, nothing has been heard on either side of compromises and negotiations.

Lord Hartington and his followers have addressed public meetings in every part of the country, and from Mr. Bright, before he was completely prostrated by illness, there came brief but impressive letters, putting the Unionist case in the most striking and popular way. Mr. Chamberlain, on his return from negotiating the Fisheries Treaty at Washington, was warmly welcomed at Birmingham, and, withdrawing from the Liberal caucus in which Gladstonian intolerance had got the upper hand, he founded a new Association, destined to prove its strength at the municipal elections in the autumn. After the Parliamentary adjournment the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Goschen, and other members of the Government took their share in the work, and in London, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, in the North and the South, in Wales and in Scotland, the truth was placed side by side with statements borrowed from the Parnellites by the Gladstonians.

Mr. Blunt's imprisonment for an attempt to hold an illegal meeting at Woodford was rewarded by his acceptance as a candidate by the Deptford Gladstonians, but his attempt to recover damages for his arrest only exposed the absurdity of his conduct, and drew from Chief Baron Palles an emphatic condemnation of the terrorist system. While Mr. Blunt's case was still the theme of discussion, Lord Ripon and Mr. Morley visited Dublin, and were welcomed by a large gathering, which showed that their cause was not supported by any appreciable fraction of the wealth, enterprise, and intelligence of Ireland. Meanwhile the clamour was kept up about the rape of Mr. O'Brien's small clothes and the effect of prison treatment on his fragile frame until he was released, whereupon Mr. Dillon was at liberty to qualify in like manner for martyrdom by breaking the law and to trade for English sympathies on the delicacy of his health.

We need scarcely add that these political lawbreakers usually resorted to every quirk and quibble of the law to avoid punishment, falling back, after defeat, on the legend, supported by Mr. Blunt's silly tittle-tattle, that the Chief Secretary was plotting to get rid of his political opponents in prison. This sort of stuff was greedily swallowed by Mr. Gladstone, who, during the inquest on Mr. Mandeville, declared, without waiting to hear what evidence there was on the other side, that the treatment of the deceased in Tullamore Gaol had been brutal

and shameful. Dr. Ridley, the medical officer, who committed suicide during the proceedings, was shown to have been already the object of cruel Nationalist persecution, and to have broken down under the terrible charges urged against him before the hostile tribunal of the coroner. The two inquiries, though conducted with a scandalous disregard for decency and fairness, at least brought the facts to light. Mr. Mandeville, who died of a disease that runs a brief course, had been seven months out of gaol, leading an active life and boasting of his robust health. Yet the Gladstonians continue to repeat the fabricated legend of his martyrdom. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, added in the autumn a touch of heightened colour to the picture, denouncing Mr. Balfour as worse than King Bomba because he made political prisoners associate with ordinary criminals. Confronted with his own account of the Neapolitan horrors, among which it appeared that he had seen Italian patriots herded with the vilest wretches and actually chained to murderers, he had nothing better to say than that he had seen at Naples one prisoner who was not so treated. He still maintains, in spite of Mr. Balfour's detailed refutation, his mythical stories of Mitchelstown and Mr. Mandeville, and apparently believes, in the teeth of the evidence, that his Government never treated the "political offence" of intimidation with the severity prescribed by law. In this mystification he has been zealously assisted by Sir William Harcourt, Sir George Trevelyan, and Lord Spencer.

The support given by the Nonconformist ministers of this country, who know nothing of Ireland and would risk nothing by Home Rule, was exhibited earlier in the year, at the Farringdon Street Memorial Hall, where the leader of the Opposition responded to their expression of confidence in a fervid and vague harangue. The answer came several months later, when a large gathering of Nonconformists, chiefly laymen, welcomed Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington at the Whitehall Rooms of the Hôtel Métropole, and an address signed by nine-tenths of the non-Episcopalian clergy of Ireland was presented to the Unionist leaders, protesting against the Separatist designs. The enthusiastic reception which Lord Hartington had met with not long before at Belfast from those who had been the staunchest Liberal supporters of Mr. Gladstone told the same tale.

Meanwhile the anarchic fury of the Separatists had convinced some who had been doubtful that "coercion" in Ireland was a necessity so long as the League set itself up against the law; and the Papal rescript, condemning boycotting and the Plan of Campaign, which was followed up by further letters and orders, struck a heavy blow at the terrorist system, by enjoining the priesthood not to take part, directly or indirectly, in the forbidden proceedings. "Patriot priests" like Father M'Fadden still defied the voice of the Church as well as the law of the land, but the double pressure was more and more felt. The steady operation of the summary jurisdiction provided by the Crimes Act rendered organised intimidation more difficult and dangerous, and, freedom being in part restored, evicted farms began to be taken and land to be dealt with on economic principles. Speeches were still delivered surreptitiously and illegally inciting to terrorism, and crimes like the murders of Fitzmaurice, Quirke, and Murphy, in Kerry, were still perpetrated from time to time. Of these the worst were brought to justice, under the change of venue, at the Wicklow Assizes. Whether or not the speeches and the outrages were connected it would be improper to pronounce an opinion while the Special Commission appointed under the Act of Parliament is inquiring into that and other kindred issues. We have only here to note the fact that the Commission, after a preliminary meeting in September, entered upon its regular work on the 22nd of October, sitting mostly on four days in the week, and adjourned on the 14th of December to the 15th of January.

It was to be expected that the alliance of the Gladstonians with the party of violence, anarchy, and disintegration in Ireland would not remain without effect in Great Britain. Separatist doctrines have made rapid progress in Wales, allying themselves with schemes for the overthrow of the Church and the spoliation of the landowners, and employing in the attempt to organise a tithe war those methods of furious denunciation, calumny, and appeals to popular greed which we recognise as borrowed from the Irish armoury. The same doctrines have shown themselves in Scotland, though there they are as yet adopted by few persons of any political note. Mr. Gladstone and his acolytes, Sir William Harcourt, Sir George Trevelyan, and Mr. Morley, have turned an approving eye on the move-

ment in Wales, and have intimated that they have an open mind in the case of Scotland.

Apart from the abstract attractions of separatism, anywhere and everywhere, the champions of the League cannot affect indignation at forcible resistance to the execution of the law in Skye or the Lewis, or at the attacks on auctioneers and bailiffs when goods are seized for tithes in Wales. It is a little more doubtful whether it is good policy to take sides with violence in London, for London, according to Mr. Morley, must be won if Home Rule is to be carried, so that Mr. Cunningham Graham and Mr. Burns have been unpitied martyrs during their imprisonment. But the facilities afforded by the "open mind" are great, and Mr. Gladstone showed in his speeches at Birmingham in November, and at Limehouse little more than a fortnight ago, that, though he gives the first place to the Irish craze, he is willing to add any number of new articles of faith to the party creed, if by so doing he can gain votes.

The National Liberal Federation, which met under the shadow of the Unionist victories at the municipal elections in Birmingham, and in the absence of Mr. Chamberlain, who had started for Washington to get married, must have been confounded at the mass of accepted dogmas which Mr. Gladstone had either repudiated three years before or, at the most, had tolerated as "pious opinions." To Home Rule for Ireland and possibly for Wales are to be added Welsh disestablishment, local option, "one man one vote," payment of members, the repeal of the Septennial Act, the Channel Tunnel, and half a dozen other "fads," while the door is invitingly held open to as many more, from anti-vaccination to free schools. Mr. Morley's plan, indeed, for winning over London was adopted *en bloc* by Mr. Gladstone in his visit to Limehouse, and, put into plain language, it amounts to this, that the "open mind" of the Liberal party will embrace anything Londoners choose to ask for, if they are only able to give votes enough in exchange for a speculative promise to pay.

A good deal has been heard this year about the metropolitan police, and the visible friction between the Commissioner, Sir Charles Warren, and the Home Secretary was brought to a crisis by the publication by the former of a controversial magazine article, which Mr. Matthews pronounced to be contrary to rule. Sir Charles Warren thereupon resigned, and was suc-

ceeded by Mr. Monro, who, as chief of the detective department, had been involved in the previous misunderstandings, but who, it is hoped, may now be able to make the whole machine work more smoothly. Sir Charles Warren was most unfairly held responsible by some foolish persons for the failure of the police to discover the author of the horrible series of murders and mutilations perpetrated at intervals during the year in the Whitechapel district. Another remarkable resignation was that of Lord Charles Beresford, whose conduct at the Admiralty was probably too imperious for a subordinate, but who has done his part in drawing attention to the now acknowledged weakness of the navy.

From the recent speeches of the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other members of the Government it may be inferred that a vigorous attempt will be made in the coming year to supply the patent defects in our military and naval systems which were brought to light by the success of the attacking squadron in the naval manœuvres. The reluctance of the Duke of Cambridge to renew the privileges of the National Rifle Association at Wimbledon and the refusal of the Crown to grant similar privileges at Richmond Park alarmed the volunteers, but, after the consideration of other sites, the removal of the meeting-place to Brookwood, near Woking, has been accepted as a working compromise.

The Armada Tercentenary and the Italian, Irish, and Anglo-Danish Exhibitions in London were among the minor events of the year. The Local Government Act has put an end to the Metropolitan Board of Works, which, in any case, could hardly have survived the report of the Commission presided over by Lord Herschell, and the preparations for the first election of its successor, the County Council of London, are now in progress. The School Board for London has been elected for another term of three years, and the party identified with economy and voluntary schools remains in power, with a slightly diminished majority. We may note also the appearance of the Report of the Education Commission, containing so much controversial matter that it is not likely to be acted upon. Education was naturally one of the chief topics discussed at the Church Congress, where, however, Mr. Balfour's eloquent and thoughtful address on "The Religion of Humanity" was the most interesting feature.

Though France has ceased to be the centre round which European politics revolve, French affairs are always interesting to other nations, if only because reaction or revolution in France may instantaneously change the aspect of international relations throughout the civilised world. Having passed the eighteenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Third Republic, and having tried a new Ministerial combination, the twenty-fourth since September 1870, France seems to have once more reached that critical stage in which institutions and individuals have alike fallen into discredit, and desperate, unreasoning attempts to recover public confidence open a way both for selfish ambition and for anarchical impatience. It is hoped rather than believed that the crisis may, at least, be deferred till after the Exhibition of the coming year, which is to commemorate the opening of the revolutionary period a century ago.

In foreign affairs the main fact to be noted is the exacerbation of the quarrel, now of long standing, with Italy, in which, however, the faults, of manner at any rate, have not all been on the side of France. While Signor Crispi's despatches have not been conciliatory in regard to either the rights of Italian subjects in Tunis or the abrogation by Italy of the capitulations at Massowah, French jealousy and bitterness were unmistakably shown in the harsh treatment of Italian workmen in France, and in the diplomatic obstruction which Italy had to meet on every question which brought the two nations into contact. Towards Germany France has behaved, on the whole, with prudence and reserve, not officially noticing provocative language, but steadily keeping up with, or perhaps outstripping, the German expenditure on the army and navy.

The French Press has been sharp in its comments on English policy, and French diplomacy has been dilatory and litigious, but no serious causes of strife with this country have arisen. Frenchmen, indeed, have been too absorbed in the anxieties of domestic politics to have much attention to spare for foreign affairs, except so far as they seem to bear upon the necessity for organising the national defences. To the vast increase of military and naval expenditure, incurred when the finances were crippled, the yield of taxes dwindling, and the debt double that of this country, no opposition was practically offered. Yet faction had risen to an unprecedented height, and charges of corruption were bandied about on all sides.

The trial of M. Wilson and the severe sentence passed upon him did not serve M. Tirard's Government, nor was its position improved by the cashiering of General Boulanger, on the ground of disobedience to the orders of the War Minister. The General was dangerous, no doubt, as a political intriguer who had obtained votes in seven departments, and still held a military command, but he became more troublesome as a "martyr." M. Tirard was succeeded by M. Floquet, with M. Goblet as Foreign Minister, and the new Cabinet immediately set about "dishing" General Boulanger, who was returned both in the Dordogne and in the Nord, and who put himself forward as the champion of a revision of the Constitution. After some shuffling M. Floquet adopted the revision cry, against the judgment of the most sagacious and patriotic Frenchmen; but General Boulanger, supported with various ulterior views by Royalists, Bonapartists, and some extreme Revolutionists, is likely to get what credit is to be derived from this move. His tactics have been peculiar. By standing in a number of constituencies—the last being Paris, where he is at this moment a candidate,—he has contrived to take a sort of informal *plébiscite*, and, in spite of more than one check, the results have been on the whole so decidedly in his favour that the Government are afraid he will become a candidate at the elections of next year for some forty seats, and will thus enter the Chamber with overwhelming prestige. Last summer the quarrel between M. Floquet and General Boulanger ran so high that a duel took place, in which the latter was severely wounded, and scandal has since been busy in many ways with his name. All this, however, advertises him, and the revision scheme of the Ministry, being obviously intended to maintain the present majority permanently in power and to render a real appeal to the country impossible, does not grow in favour.

The weakness of the Ministerial attempt to substitute once more the *scrutin d'arrondissement* for the *scrutin de liste*, which in the time of Gambetta was accepted as the Radical policy, is so manifest that the partisans of the Government hardly disguise it themselves. The Baudin demonstration a few weeks ago proves that M. Floquet and his allies, with all their subservience to Radical demands, are distrusted by the Revolutionists as well as by the Conservatives. The trial of M. Numa Gilly, Mayor of Nîmes, for a libel on the Budget

Commission has brought to light a crop of those scandals which in France are among the symptoms of revolution.

That nothing might be wanting to complete the parallel with the days preceding the fall of Louis Philippe and that of Napoleon III., the position of the Panama Canal, in which millions of Frenchmen have invested their savings, has become most serious. M. de Lesseps having changed his plans and undertaken to construct a canal with locks instead of an open waterway, the issue of a Lottery Loan to cover the increased expenses was resolved on by the shareholders and sanctioned by the Chambers; but when issued, owing to a false report of M. de Lesseps' death—denounced as a Stock Exchange manœuvre—or to other causes, not half the loan was taken up, and, subsequent efforts to float it failing, an appeal was made to the Government and to the Chambers. The Government sanctioned a modest relief Bill, giving M. de Lesseps' company time to meet its obligations, but the Chamber, fearing that this would involve the acceptance of responsibility, nationally and internationally, for the scheme, threw out the Bill by a large majority. The discontent of a large body of small investors is a formidable element at a time when the temper of a large section of the voters has been shown by the election of the Communist General Cluseret to the Chamber of Deputies.

The prolongation of the French crisis was keenly watched in Germany, and Prince Bismarck's policy was throughout directed to the isolation of France. Before the introduction of the Army Bill, the Chancellor emphasised the significance of the alliance of the Central Powers by authorising the publication at Berlin and Vienna of the Treaty of 1879, providing against the eventualities of an attack on either Empire by France or Russia, and the measure, which was promptly voted by the Reichstag, led the way for similar augmentations of military expenditure in France, Austria, Russia, and Italy. While taking his stand firmly on the Austrian alliance, the Chancellor strove to conciliate Russia by speaking contemptuously of Bulgaria, where Prince Ferdinand held his ground, in spite of the renewed protest of the Porte against the illegality of his position. Nevertheless, the relations between Germany and Russia were by no means cordial. The German newspapers under Prince Bismarck's influence, which have since been allowed to attack not only France, but England and even

Austria, with as little courtesy as fairness, engaged in a sharp polemic, repeatedly renewed, with the Russian Press, and the German money-market at one time created a panic by a hasty attempt to get rid of its excessive burden of Russian securities.

Attention was soon diverted from these controversies by the fatal illness of the Emperor William and the alarming reports of the health of his son, who was at San Remo when his father died. Though the Emperor William had reached a patriarchal age, his death was deeply felt by the German people. The funeral ceremony was carried out with an impressive magnificence never surpassed. The wildest hopes and fears were excited in France and elsewhere by the accession of the Emperor Frederick, in whose state a temporary improvement was visible after his arrival in Berlin. That his views in domestic policy were much more liberal than those of his father and that he was sincerely desirous of peace became soon apparent, and a certain amount of friction arose between him and the Chancellor, threatening to end at one time in the resignation of the latter, who opposed the projected marriage between the Princess Victoria and Prince Alexander, the former ruler of Bulgaria. In these controversies the Crown Prince, who has now become the Emperor William II, ranged himself apparently on the side of the Chancellor. The Emperor Frederick slowly sank under a malady which the *post-mortem* examination showed to be incurable, and, though the event was long expected, it produced an outburst of unfeigned and disinterested grief, not only in Germany, but throughout Europe, and especially in Great Britain, which was the highest tribute to a lofty character and a noble life. The new Emperor in his earliest proclamations and speeches reproduced the spirit and the language of his grandfather, with a less pacific temper and a more outspoken dislike of German Liberalism.

We need only notice in passing the painful and not very creditable squabbles which arose out of the illness of the Emperor Frederick, the charges and counter-charges of Sir Morell Mackenzie and Professor von Bergmann, the publication of the late Emperor's diary, and the arrest and prosecution of Dr. Geffcken for alleged complicity in that offence. The foreign policy of the Empire, which practically governs that of Central Europe, has undergone no change, though much alarm was caused both in Austria-Hungary and in France by the visit of

the young Emperor William, soon after his accession, to the Czar at Peterhof. The German semi-official Press continued to write contemptuously and abusively of Bulgaria, and the friendly relations between the German and the Russian Courts were the subject of various comment. It soon appeared, however, that the "League of Peace," the alliance of Germany with Austria and Italy, was still the keystone of German policy. The visits of Signor Crispi and Count Kalnoky to Prince Bismarck were followed by the more formal and significant progress of the Emperor himself to Vienna and to Rome, where, as also in Sweden and in the South German capitals, he was welcomed with great enthusiasm. The solidarity of the interests of the three Powers constituting the "League of Peace" was emphatically asserted in these interchanges of courtesy. An interview between the Emperor and the Pope at the Vatican was maladroitly managed either on one side or on both, and has weakened the friendly feelings which had of late grown up between the German Government and the Roman Catholic Church.

In Austria the necessity of the German alliance had been affirmed by the threatening concentration of Russian troops in Galicia, which drew forth a vigorous protest in the Hungarian Parliament from M. Tisza, and was met by immediate counter-preparations. The situation on the Austrian frontier was supposed to be connected with the retirement of Count Moltke from his place as Chief of the Staff of the German army, in which he was succeeded by General Waldersee, on the ground that his great age rendered him unfit for active service at a time when war might at any moment break out. The demands of the Austrian Government for increased military strength met with a cordial response both in Hungary and in the Cisleithan provinces, though in the latter the growing restlessness of the Czech and other Panslavist elements, headed by such enthusiasts as Bishop Strossmeyer, have produced strained relations between the German parties, encouraged by the recent visit of the Emperor William, and the Ministry of Count Taaffe. The celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the Emperor Francis Joseph's accession showed that the personal popularity of the Sovereign and the moderating influence of the Imperial family are still most powerful factors in the Austro-Hungarian polity.

At the same time the prospects of Austria have not improved

during the year. The German alliance, notwithstanding some bickering between the German and Austrian newspapers, may be depended upon, and Russia, though always assuming a menacing attitude, is seemingly no nearer to an actual rupture than she was twelve months ago. But the smaller States of Eastern Europe, which appeared ready to range themselves under Austrian leadership in opposition to Russia, are now less to be relied upon. In Servia the mismanagement of King Milan has thrown a dangerous share of influence into the hands of the Radicals and the avowed or unavowed partisans of Russia ; the divorce of Queen Natalie has aggravated the discredit of political weakness, and the revision of the Constitution, as well as the irregular measures adopted to avert its immediate mischiefs, has so strengthened the factions who look to revolution as a stepping-stone to Panslavism that the King's abdication has even been spoken of. In Roumania, the downfall of M. Bratiano, whether by his own fault or by the machinations of his enemies, has opened the way for a policy influenced by Russia, while social and agrarian disturbances have decreased the national capacity for resistance. In Bulgaria, though Prince Ferdinand has held his own, and though the protest of the Porte already referred to has been a *brutum fulmen*, the strife of parties has risen to a perilously violent height, and the personal intervention of the Prince was needed in the case of Major Popoff to prevent even patriotic Bulgarian statesmen from committing a shameful act of injustice. In Greece little has occurred worth noting, except the ceremonies on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the King's accession and the astonishing discovery of an accumulation of unacknowledged funds in the Treasury. But Greece, which has strengthened her dynastic position by the betrothal of the heir to the throne to a Prussian Princess, is watching, like Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro, the smouldering fires of revolt, aggravated and complicated by jealousies of race and creed, which have long been threatening to break into flame in Macedonia. Turkey, it is scarcely necessary to say, has done nothing to escape from the dangers of revolution by carrying out long-promised and much-needed reforms in internal government. The minor States of Western Europe have been tranquil, and Spain, Belgium, and Denmark have striven to give proof of their material progress by the Exhibitions at Barcelona, Brussels, and Copenhagen.

In India the year opened gloomily enough. The financial difficulties of the preceding years, due partly to Lord Ripon's remissions of taxation, partly to the fall in silver, partly to the military expenditure on the North-West frontier and in Burmah, had become more urgent, so that, after diverting the famine assurance fund and withdrawing part of the resources assigned to the provincial governments, it became necessary to increase the salt duty and to reimpose the income tax. General regret was felt that the closing months of Lord Dufferin's successful Viceroyalty—for the resignation of the Governor-General, who was raised a step in the peerage and became Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, was announced early in the year, though it did not take effect till within the last few weeks—should have been thus darkened. While the continued disturbances in Burmah have involved the Indian Government in trouble and expense, affairs have gone smoothly in India proper. It is true there has been some heartburning between the Hindoo and Mahomedan subjects of the Queen-Empress, and a good deal of embarrassment has been caused by the ambitious pretensions and even by the exuberant loyalty of the native princes. The claims to constitutional recognition put forward on behalf of the teeming inarticulate millions of India, comprising an extraordinary variety of races and creeds, have been conjoined with an outbreak of virulent calumny and vituperation in the native Press, both traceable to the restless activity of a small section of "educated natives," mainly belonging to the weaker races.

Before resigning the reins of government at Calcutta to Lord Lansdowne, who had been appointed his successor, Lord Dufferin spoke out strongly on the subject of the so-called native demand for self-government, and pointed out that to concede it would be to establish in power a privileged class of doubtful fitness, and not in any sense to give representative government to India. This grave warning may have led to the comparative moderation of the "National Congress," which has just concluded its meeting at Allahabad. The most important question of domestic policy in India is, perhaps, insoluble. At least the Report of the Commissioners on the Precious Metals, showing an equal division of opinion between monometallists and bi-metallists, has been able to suggest no comforting solution.

The Empire has not escaped the worry of "little wars." A Pathan tribe, occupying the Black Mountain on the North-West

frontier, having raided into British territory and attacked British troops, were chastised in a troublesome, though successful, expedition during the autumn. A more embarrassing task was imposed upon the Viceroy on the Northern frontier, where the Tibetans had committed a similar aggression in Sikkim, a State under the protection of the Anglo-Indian Government. China, which claims supreme power over Tibet, while condemning the offence, was opposed to retaliation. When at length operations were begun, the Tibetans were severely defeated, and an attempt was then once more made, at first not very hopefully, but lately with better prospects of success, to arrange an amicable settlement through the Chinese, though the Anglo-Indian troops hold Gnatong and Gantok till a definitive peace is concluded.

It seemed at one time that much more serious difficulties would arise in Afghanistan, where Abdurrahman was threatened by his rival Ayoob, whose plans failed, and who is now a prisoner in India. It was feared subsequently that a rebellion against the Ameer, headed by Ishak Khan, would be turned to the advantage of Russia. Ishak Khan, however, was beaten and took to flight, and Abdurrahman's power is for the time unchallenged. The watchful jealousy of Russia about anything that may strengthen British predominance in Asia has broken out significantly in the outcry against the results of Sir Henry Wolff's influence at the Persian Court, and especially the opening up of the Karun river, and consequently of access to the interior from the Persian Gulf, to the trade, not of England only, but of all nations.

The position of England in Egypt, closely connected as it is with the interests of the Indian Empire, is regulated by international engagements which have recently been in practical abeyance. It is generally recognised that Egypt has not reached such a position of security, either internally or externally, as to dispense with British supervision. Nubar Pasha, who was no favourite with the Khedive, and who had shown a disposition to put aside Sir Evelyn Baring's advice, has been succeeded as Premier by Riaz Pasha, but no remarkable change of policy has been the result. The part taken by Sir William Marriott, while holding office at home as Judge Advocate-General, in bringing about a settlement of the claims of the ex-Khedive Ismail upon the Egyptian Government was criticised

in Parliament ; but the arrangement appears to be a reasonable and a practical one. It is to be feared that Sir Edgar Vincent's efforts to place the Egyptian finances on a steady basis may be counteracted by the effect of a low Nile and by the pressure of the Dervishes, representing the fighting force of the Mahdi's successor, both at Wady Halfa and at Suakin.

Wild hopes had been excited by rumours of the appearance of a "White Pasha," variously conjectured to be Emin Pasha or Stanley, on the upper waters of the Nile, who, it was thought, might break down the Mahdist power at Khartoum, and join hands with the Anglo-Egyptians either on the north or on the east. Gloomier reports, it is true, more recently prevailed. The Mahdists asserted that Emin Pasha and a white traveller had fallen into their hands, and, though their testimony was highly suspicious, it was admitted that there was grave reason for alarm. For more than a year nothing had been heard of Stanley, who had started by the Congo route to relieve Emin Pasha at Wadelai, and the destruction of his rear-guard under Major Barttelot was of ill omen. The most recent accounts, as yet unconfirmed but eminently probable, point decidedly to the meeting of Stanley and Emin, and their actual safety.

Meanwhile the Dervishes under Osman Digna had been pressing Suakin hard, and the Government consented, on the appeal of the British officers in Egypt, to send British troops there to reinforce the Egyptian garrison. In deference to remonstrances in and out of Parliament a larger force was despatched than General Grenfell had asked for, and a brilliant victory over the Dervishes was won, the black Egyptian troops especially fighting bravely.

It is, however, a subject of general and just complaint that this country seems to have no clear and settled policy except that of holding a position which, if abandoned, would be seized by some other European Power, under the impulse which has led the Italians to establish themselves at Massowah and the Germans on the coast near Zanzibar. Italy has been involved in a troublesome and costly war with the Abyssinians, and has suffered more than one disaster, but has not been shaken in her possession of Massowah. The results of the imperious diplomacy of Germany, by which she induced the Sultan of Zanzibar to surrender to a German company a valuable stretch of coastline and a proportionate "sphere of predominance" inland, have

been jeopardised by a revolt of the Arabs, in the interests, it is asserted, of the slave-trade. The position of the Germans is precarious, and must in some degree affect the British East Africa Company. The quarrel has also produced grave alarm among the British missionaries, who have done so much to introduce the elements of civilisation, not only along the coast, but in the interior. Public opinion in Europe had been moved by the crusade against the slave-traders preached by Cardinal de Lavigerie, and this country, together with Germany, Italy, and Portugal, has agreed, in spite of some technical objections on the part of France, to establish a blockade of the East Coast of Africa and prevent the import of arms and the export of slaves.

The jealousy excited by the "scramble for Africa" extends to every portion of the Continent. It is visible in speculations about the future of Tripoli, Morocco, and the Congo State, as well as in the anxiety shown by English merchants and Cape colonists in regard to the schemes for connecting the Transvaal with Delagoa Bay by a railway actually, if not ostensibly, under German or Dutch control. In view of the danger of a further extension of Boer domination in Zululand, the Government were compelled to interfere to put down an insurrection in that country under Cetywayo's son, Dinizulu, which had caused some alarm in Natal. After some vexatious delays, due to the inadequacy of the force employed, the insurgents were defeated and Dinizulu was taken prisoner. The result will probably be the consolidation of British power over all Zululand outside the limits of the Boer Republic. At the Cape the pressure in favour of annexation on the side of Bechuanaland must also be reckoned with.

Imperial Federation has become a popular doctrine, and the efforts of Lord Rosebery and other politicians of both parties to arouse public enthusiasm in its favour have at least drawn attention to the present value and the future development of our colonies. But while the organisation in the mother country evades difficulties by the vagueness of its declarations of policy, events and controversies in the colonies have shown of what kind those difficulties may be found in practice to be. On the question of Chinese immigration, for instance, which has been much agitated throughout Australia during the year, and which was considered at a conference at Sydney, the views of the

colonists differ widely from those prevailing at home. Queensland has declined to ratify the Naval Defence Bill, which has been adopted by the other Australian Governments, as well as by the Imperial Parliament, and has since compelled the withdrawal of Sir Henry Blake, whose appointment as Governor had been announced, and in whose place Sir Henry Norman has been nominated.

In British North America questions of a different nature, but not less embarrassing, have arisen, partly out of the complicated machinery of the federal system, and partly out of the disturbing influence of the United States. Lord Stanley of Preston, who succeeded Lord Lansdowne as Governor-General of the Canadian Dominion, finds many anxious problems awaiting him. The squabble between the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, supported by the Dominion Government, and the Provincial Government of Manitoba, which favoured the opening of direct railway connection between the Red River district and the railway system of the United States, led to a threatening conflict, in which both sides seemed ready to appeal to arms, and, though a collision has been averted, the causes of jealousy remain. The movement for a commercial union with the United States, which may be regarded as an alternative policy to that of fiscal reciprocity with the mother country, received a check in the Dominion Parliament, but it has an active body of supporters, and the stringent measures threatened under the name of retaliation by the Government at Washington, since the Fisheries dispute has been once more opened up, are perhaps intended to reinforce this party. On the other hand, the advocates of Imperial Federation have not been idle. The Dominion Government has consented, at their instance, to summon a conference, representing all the self-governing colonies, to consider the commercial and fiscal relations of the different parts of the Empire.

Much disappointment has been caused in Canada by the refusal of the Republican majority in the Senate of the United States to ratify the treaty, provisionally concluded at Washington in the spring, between Mr. Bayard, acting for the American Government, and Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Tupper, representing the Imperial and Canadian Governments. It was felt that it was worth while to make large concessions, in order to put an end to a controversy which fostered both dangerous local

conflicts and embarrassing international jealousies. The loss of the treaty threw back Canada upon the arrangement of 1818, which the Americans consider onerous and unfair, but which cannot be surrendered without, at least, the abandonment in return of extravagant claims.

It was hoped that the American Government would abide by the *modus vivendi* previously arranged, but the Presidential election was at hand, and Mr. Cleveland was determined not to give his opponents the opportunity of denouncing him as a friend of England. Though the treaty had been supported by his own party, he made its rejection by the Republican majority in the Senate the excuse for sending a message to Congress recommending retaliatory measures against Canada. No steps have been hitherto taken in this direction, and the result of the Presidential contest diminished the importance of the Message.

Mr. Cleveland was chosen, without opposition, as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, but the Republican Convention, divided between the half-recognised claims of Mr. Blaine and the bitter hostility to his nomination in many powerful quarters, showed much more hesitation in its choice, which fell at last on General Harrison, of Indiana. The tariff question, raised in an imperfect form by the abortive "Mills" Bill, was the main issue, though Mr. Cleveland's views, which he has reiterated since his defeat, were clearer and stronger than those of his party. The Republicans relied on their appeals not only to Protectionist interests, but to popular prejudices in order to discredit Mr. Cleveland and the Democrats, a trap was laid for Lord Sackville, the British Minister at Washington, who was induced to write a private letter to a *soi-disant* Englishman, expressing the opinion that Mr. Cleveland's policy was not really hostile to England. The Republican outcry, which this trick was devised to justify, was as absurd as it was insincere; but Lord Sackville, unfortunately, repeated his offence, such as it was, in an interview with the reporter of a newspaper, and gave the Democrats an opportunity of playing what they thought a good card.

Mr. Cleveland and his Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, outdid their rivals by hastily preferring a complaint to the British Government, and then, without offering any evidence except the telegrams in the newspapers, or allowing time for inquiry in this country, rudely declaring that Lord Sackville could no

longer be received as the British representative at Washington. This act of international courtesy did not bring good fortune to the Democratic cause. In the elections of 6th November the Republicans carried New York, in which the Democrats were hampered by feuds and intrigues within the party, and all the rest of the Northern States, except New Jersey and Connecticut, General Harrison thus obtaining 233 electoral votes against 168 secured for Mr. Cleveland. In the House of Representatives, hitherto Democratic, the Republicans will have probably a small majority in March next, and they will also be strengthened in the Senate. For the time the Protectionist policy is triumphant.

The obituary of the year contains several eminent names, though few of the highest distinction. We have already noticed the deaths of the Emperors William and Frederick in Germany. At home the most remarkable losses have been those of Lord Eversley, for many years the Speaker of the House of Commons, before that body had begun to decline ; Sir Henry Maine, a courageous thinker and a powerful writer on all questions of political theory and scientific jurisprudence ; Mr. Matthew Arnold, an admirable poet and a penetrating, though too fastidious, critic ; Mr. Laurence Oliphant, whose brilliant, though eccentric, genius is not adequately represented by his published works ; and Mr. Frank Holl, perhaps the most forcible of our portrait painters.

Among other deaths we may mention those of the Duke of Rutland, who was succeeded by his brother, so well known as Lord John Manners ; the Duchess of Sutherland ; Lord Lucan, whose name is associated with the Balaclava charge ; Lord Devon ; Lord Mount-Temple ; Sir Frederick Pollock, whose entertaining *Reminiscences* were published not long ago ; Sir Robert Carden ; Sir Richard Baggallay, formerly Lord Justice of Appeal ; and another ex-Judge of high merit, Sir H. Keating ; Dr. Burgon, Dean of Chichester ; Dr. Jellett, the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin ; and the Rev. G. Gleig, long the Chaplain-General of the army. Colonel King-Harman, Colonel Duncan, and Mr. Henry Richard will be missed from the House of Commons ; literature in various departments has to mourn the loss of Mrs. Proctor, the widow of "Barry Cornwall," and of Mary Howitt, two links with a bygone time ; of Sir Francis Doyle, Professor Bonamy Price, Mr. Cotter Morison, Mr. W. G. Palgrave, Professor Leone Levi, Mr. Richard Proctor, and Mr.

G. S. Venables ; Sir Charles Bright, the electrician ; Dr. Latham, the ethnologist, and Mr. Jameson, the naturalist, have left gaps in the ranks of science ; while in the official world, besides some named above, Admiral Hewett and Admiral Cooper Key, Sir Anthony Musgrave, Sir Ronald Thomson, and Mr. Rothery, the Wreck Commissioner, have passed away.

A broad there are not many remarkable deaths to record. In France the President's father, M. H. Carnot, died at a great age, as well as M. Duclerc, a former Premier ; Bazaine and Lebœuf, two Marshals identified with the disasters of 1870 ; the Duc de Padoue, a leader of the Bonapartists ; Boulanger, the painter ; Monselet, the critic ; Labiche, the dramatist ; and Rajon, the etcher.

Italy has lost the Count di Robilant, Ambassador at the English Court, and his predecessor, Count Corti, who retired a year ago, as well as Signor Mancini, a distinguished jurist and ex-Minister.

In the United States General Sheridan, one of the heroes of the Civil War, has passed away ; and in Russia Count Loris Melikoff, who, at a critical time, was called to the task of grappling with Nihilism. The President of the Orange Free State, Sir J. H. Brand, and the Sultan of Zanzibar were known, in their several spheres, as staunch and faithful allies of this country.

## 1889

EXCEPT that the year 1889 is marked as the centenary of the French Revolution and of the International Exhibition which commemorated that great event, there is little in its records to command a permanent place in history. It has been characterised at home by a continuance of political stagnation and a revival of commercial activity; the relative position of parties has not been materially altered, though the more aggressive attitude assumed by the spokesmen of labour towards capital and the interests connected with it have begun to inspire some anxiety for the future. Abroad the *status quo* has been preserved in Europe, and, indeed, it might have been said, all over the world, had it not been for the unexpected and easy overthrow of the Empire of Brazil; but it can hardly be affirmed that the sense of unrest engendered by the presence of immense and increasing armies has in any way abated.

The commercial revival has not been confined to this country, where its development has been to some extent interfered with by the recurrent conflicts in the labour market. The harvest, which down to the end of June gave promise of being far above the average, suffered severely from the bad weather of July and August, and though, happily, the worst anticipations were by no means realised, the disappointment of the farmers reacted generally on trade. Still the evidence of progress and prosperity was indisputable. The growth of railway traffic, of the Post Office revenues, and of the savings banks deposits, as well as the receipts from taxation, both direct and indirect, must be regarded as thoroughly satisfactory. The rapid rise in the price of Government securities and other sound investments and the great increase in the amount of capital poured into new undertakings

show that the frugality enforced by "hard times" has accumulated resources for the future. At the same time industry and commerce, in view of keen and aggressive foreign competition, cannot hope for the return of those advances "by leaps and bounds" over which Mr. Gladstone was able to exult during his first administration.

The improvement in business, however, was sufficiently marked to induce a large section of the working men to look for higher wages, and the movement was controlled to a great extent by those who had more ambitious schemes of political and social reform in view. There had been some preliminary skirmishing before the strike of the dock labourers, which began in August and which was stimulated by public sympathy with the sufferings of unskilled labour, brought to light by the Parliamentary inquiry into the "sweating" system, as well as by the unpopularity of the dock authorities in commercial circles. The demands of the ordinary "dockers" for an increase of wages from 5d. to 6d. an hour and the abolition of the contract system were soon supported by other classes of labourers—porters, stevedores, firemen, carmen, lightermen, and watermen—of whom some had grievances of their own, while others struck to help the dockers. Subscriptions were opened, demonstrations were held in Hyde Park and elsewhere, and influential interests among the shipowners, wharfingers, and brokers, alarmed at the stoppage of trade, navigation, and industry, strove to bring about a compromise that would bring back the strikers, over 100,000 in number, to work.

The Dock Committee, after deciding not to embitter the struggle by bringing in foreign labour, made what the leaders of the strike deemed an inadequate offer, to which they replied by an indiscreet manifesto ordering a general strike. This had to be withdrawn, but the effect on public opinion remained, and, in spite of large contributions received from Australia and elsewhere the movement was morally weakened. The Lord Mayor, Cardinal Manning, and the Bishop of London organised a Committee of Conciliation at the Mansion House, and after several unsuccessful attempts to negotiate, in one of which the Committee were compelled to reprehend severely an apparent want of good faith shown by Mr. Burns and Mr. Tillett, the representatives of the men on strike, an arrangement was agreed to by the Dock Companies, to come into force on the 4th of November, practi-

cally including the demands originally put forward, but insisting that the non-strikers should not be molested. In spite of the influence of Mr. Burns, who, notwithstanding some mistakes, had endeavoured to avert appeals to violence, this understanding was not loyally observed when the dockers had returned to work.

Various sporadic strikes occurred, or were threatened, among the tailors, the bakers, and the tramway and omnibus men, all asking for more pay and shorter hours, in which they were generally successful. A similar movement among the guttapercha workmen at Silvertown collapsed after a long and ruinous strife, and one among the postmen was discouraged by the labour party. A still more serious danger seemed to menace London when the gas stokers of the South Metropolitan Company "went out" because the directors had introduced a system of profit sharing, which the men thought would strike a fatal blow at their Union. The men were supported by the coal porters and seamen ; but the company stood firm, brought in new men in large numbers, and, despite predictions of failure, continued to supply the means of public and private lighting without serious difficulty or inconvenience. The same result followed a similar struggle in Manchester. The threat to plunge a vast urban community into darkness, and in furtherance of this design to stop the coal traffic by the aid of the coal porters and firemen, has produced a strong reaction against the organisers of these strikes, which, if extended and persisted in, must disastrously check the revival of trade.

The labour agitation is a symptom of the stirring in all social questions, which must be reckoned with in politics. The elections to the London County Council at the beginning of the year were fought by the Radical party on political issues, while the moderate section generally strove to exclude politics. A large "Progressive" majority was returned, pledged to various "social reforms," with most of which the Council has no power to deal under the Local Government Act. This party was further strengthened by the co-optation of eighteen aldermen, of whom one only was a "Moderate." A beneficial restraint was imposed by the choice of Lord Rosebery as chairman, with Sir John Lubbock as vice-chairman. Mr. Firth was appointed to the deputy-chairmanship, a salaried office, since vacated by Mr. Firth's death at Chamounix in the autumn, and filled again by the election of Mr. Haggis. Though an increase of the rates was inevitable,

the Council joined in resisting successfully the renewal of the Coal Dues.

Lord Rosebery's influence saved the Council from many follies, and contributed to the popularity of a new Two-and-a-Half per Cent Loan of £1,000,000, offered to tender at a *minimum* price of 88 and taken up at over 91½. A well-intentioned but fussy interference with music-hall performances was approved by a committee, but was promptly checked for this year by the members at large. A scheme for taxing "betterments," or seizing the "unearned increment" of value for the ratepayers, where improvements had been made out of the rates, not only appears highly questionable, but must undoubtedly depend on the decision of Parliament, and not on the claims of any local body. The apparent victory of Radical ideas at the London County Council elections accentuated the eagerness of the Opposition in pushing forward social questions, while Home Rule, though Mr. Gladstone still gave his whole mind to it, was allowed to slip into a secondary place.

The housing of the poor, the taxation of ground-rents, the right to the "unearned increment," the abolition of elementary school fees, the limitation of the hours of labour, and similar topics began to be habitually discussed on political platforms. To these were added, as the bye-elections transferred three or four doubtful seats from the Unionist to the Separatist side, the main pillars of a new Reform Bill—the adoption of the "one man one vote" principle, by sweeping away the small share of electoral power that had been left to property by the changes of 1885, and the repeal of the Septennial Act. At the same time the movements for disestablishment and for Home Rule in Wales and Scotland were growing louder, if not weightier, and Mr. Gladstone was sharply rebuked by the Welsh Radicals for hesitating to vote with Mr. Dillwyn. During a political tour in the South-Western counties Mr. Gladstone yielded the required assurances, and intimated that all sectional interests which would unite to give him a majority might hope to employ that instrument, after he had made use of it to carry Home Rule, for securing their own ends.

Meanwhile it had become evident that the original proposal to exclude the Irish members from the Westminster Parliament had been abandoned, and that Home Rule, now claimed by Welsh and Scotch Gladstonians, must imply either a complete

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reconstruction of the United Kingdom on the federal system or the reduction of England to a position of scandalous inequality. The issue was grappled with at once by the Unionists, who carried on an active platform warfare throughout the year, Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain showing especial energy, though followed close, despite the demands of official work, by Mr. Balfour—who undertook the task of exposing Mr. Gladstone's incessant misstatements about Irish affairs—by Mr. Goschen, and by Lord Salisbury himself. Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Morley, and Lord Rosebery were most conspicuous on the other side. Taking their cue from Mr. Gladstone, they all evaded the question whether or not Home Rule meant federalism, which, indeed, to this hour remains unanswered, except for the significant fact that the Scottish Gladstonian caucus has declared for a federal plan, notwithstanding Lord Rosebery's protest. They were not equally reticent about the proceedings before the Special Commission—in which, as Mr. Parnell's allies, they were personally interested—anticipating the conclusions of the judges and making charges, in a manner without precedent in this country, against persons whose mouths were closed by a decent respect for justice. For our own part, as the report of the Commission has not yet been issued, we think it proper to maintain the silence we have observed all along till we have a right to speak.

It is only necessary to state here that the Commission continued to sit practically from the beginning to the end of the year. It closed its sittings in Court on the 22nd of November, having met in all on 129 days and examined some 500 witnesses. Months before, the Gladstonians had taken it upon them to declare that the charges the judges were investigating had been disproved, and to welcome Mr. Parnell among them as a conquering hero. A narrow majority in the Town Council of Edinburgh persisted in conferring upon him the freedom of the city, in the teeth of an informal canvass of the citizens, which showed an immense preponderance of opinion on the other side. Mr. Parnell on this occasion spoke with a studied moderation, which was even more remarkable in his speeches at Nottingham and Liverpool later in the year, when also he was Mr. Gladstone's guest at Hawarden.

The Gladstonians, in fact, showed themselves more Parnellite than Mr. Parnell; they not only magnified Home

Rule, but denounced every attempt to enforce the law in Ireland, Lord Spencer and Sir George Trevelyan taking an ignominious pleasure in attacking Mr. Balfour for what they had done themselves. The result was that the two sections of the Unionists were drawn more and more closely together; Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, seeing the gulf that separated them from the apologists of anarchy, and recognising the willingness of the Conservatives to carry out what not long ago would have been deemed a more than Liberal policy, began to talk of the possibilities of a National party. The idea has already become familiar, and its acceptance has been doubtless quickened in many minds by the difficulties of working together with two independent organisations, which is believed to have had a large share in the Unionist losses at the bye-elections. At the Conference of the Conservative organisations at Nottingham a resolution in favour of forming a National party was carried by a great majority, and Lord Salisbury not only gave his approval to the suggestion, though he said that it could take effect only through the spontaneous action of the rank and file, but stated that he was willing to resign the office of Premier if that would facilitate the fusion. From more recent declarations of the Liberal Unionist leaders it appears that, while no immediate necessity is believed to exist for taking formal steps in this direction, the contingency is regarded as possible, and, in certain circumstances, desirable.

Mr. Gladstone's chagrin at the complete emancipation from his influence of the Liberal Unionists has heightened his rhetorical exultation over the bye-elections, from which he argues that the next general election—he has now entered on his eighty-first year and the present Parliament is only three years and a half old—will give him a great majority and crush his opponents to powder. This is a large inference to draw from so narrow a basis of induction as the fact that within the past twelve months the Separatists have won five seats—in Govan, Kennington, Rochester, Peterborough, and North Bucks. The transfer of five votes on a division is not an insignificant matter, but it cannot be accepted as proof that the constituencies on the next appeal will reverse the verdict of 1886.

The Unionists, too, can reflect with satisfaction on the repulse of Sir Robert Peel's attempt to capture Brighton, and

still more on the contest for the seat vacated by Mr. Bright's death in Birmingham, where the Unionist alliance emerged triumphant from a severe trial. The dispute which then arose between the Liberal Unionists and the Conservatives of Birmingham, as to whether the latter had not a right to more than one seat out of seven, has been referred to the decision of Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington. Lord Randolph Churchill's eccentric course has possibly been effected by the refusal of the Liberal Unionists to allow him to step into Mr. Bright's place. He has, on occasions, spoken out boldly for the Union, but, again, emulating the coquetry of the Gladstonians with Socialism, he has taunted his own party with not out-bidding their opponents, and only the other day he declared for the principle of the Eight Hours Bill, which Mr. Morley had repeatedly rejected, and which Mr. Gladstone, in spite of a direct challenge from the Socialists, had, at the Manchester Conference of the National Liberal Federation, passed over in absolute silence. It is to be noted that Lord Salisbury, while pointing out the injurious effect of limiting the hours of work by law, disclaimed the wish to oppose all measures tending to State Socialism, and, in particular, announced that he had been converted to the principle of Free Education.

Ireland has, on the whole, enjoyed a larger share of peace and prosperity than has fallen to her lot for years. The Crimes Act was firmly, but temperately, administered ; agrarian outrage rapidly diminished in spite of incitements applied, with decreasing boldness and effect, it is true, by the party of disorder, many of whom seemed to have had a surfeit of the glories of martyrdom ; and even boycotting, of which the Gladstonians constituted themselves the apologists, relaxed its pressure. A rise in agricultural prices and a good harvest had a share in this improvement, which was shown as well by the criminal statistics as by the avidity with which applications to the full extent of the grant under the Ashbourne Act were made by tenants desirous of purchasing their holdings, and this notwithstanding the efforts both of professional agitators and of political ecclesiastics like Archbishop Walsh.

The Plan of Campaign was not carried further on the original basis, and on some properties where it had been adopted was visibly breaking down, but a violent struggle was prolonged on Mr. Olphert's estate near Gweedore, in Donegal,

where Father M'Fadden led the resistance, and on Mr. Ponsonby's estate near Youghal, in East Cork. Father M'Fadden's attempts to evade arrest for inciting to non-payment of rent led to an attack on the police in the Derrybeg chafelyard on 3rd February, in which District-Inspector Martin was brutally murdered, and later in the year Captain Plunkett, one of the ablest of the Irish police magistrates, died from the effects of a blow on the head, received twelve months before in a riot of the same sort at Youghal. The landlords, both in Donegal and in Cork, offered most liberal terms for the sake of peace, which the tenants would have gladly accepted had not the League interfered. When, on the other hand, Mr. Ponsonby was supported, as fighting for the common interest, by a syndicate of landlords, at the head of which was Mr. Smith Barry, the tenants of the latter in Tipperary, tradesmen in town as well as peasants, were ordered to pay no rent, and those who refused to obey—for none of them had any quarrel with their landlord—were compelled, under the penalties of boycotting, to join the movement.

These tactics the Gladstonians, openly or tacitly, approved, reserving all their indignation for the imprisonment of Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Conybeare, and other organisers of a system of mingled violence and fraud. The dread, however, of coming openly into conflict with the law and the necessity for raising funds, ostensibly for legal objects, to replace the waning subscriptions from America since the revelations in the Cronin case, have brought about the formation of a new Tenants' Defence League, of which Mr. Parnell, now contemplating Irish politics, as he has lately stated, from the impartial position of a looker-on, has assumed the sponsorship. The resolution of the Government to put down terrorism in every shape may assist in confining the League, under its last disguise, within the bounds of legality, but, in that case, how are the "campaigners" to be aided in holding their illegal position? The vindication of the law at the Maryborough trials, where several persons implicated in the riot that led to Inspector Martin's murder pleaded guilty on the charge of manslaughter, and received heavy sentences, was, as usual, denounced by the Opposition, in order to damage the character of the Attorney-General, who had administered the Crimes Act with fearlessness and success, and has now been promoted to the Irish Chief Justiceship, in

place of Sir Michael Morris, who has become a Lord of Appeal. Impartial evidence, however, showed that the trials were perfectly fair, and the contention of the Gladstonians that the law in Ireland differs from that of England becomes absurd, in face of the recent conviction at the Liverpool assizes for the boycotting of Irish cattle at Salford, and the prompt dismissal by a Manchester jury of Mr. William O'Brien's libel action against Lord Salisbury.

The Viceroyalty became vacant in the autumn by the retirement of Lord Londonderry, who had filled the office creditably for three years. He has been succeeded by Lord Zetland, who has just met with a cordial reception in Dublin. Mr. Balfour, happily, remains at the helm, and has no intention of leaving it while the policy, at once firm and generous, which he has set before him is incomplete. Much criticism and hostility had been aroused by his suggestion, at the close of the session, that the higher education of the majority of the Irish might be assisted by the endowment of a Roman Catholic College, and he has admitted himself that it cannot be carried out except under conditions of general goodwill that are for the time wanting. No such difficulties threaten the proposed extension of the creation of Irish peasant owners by State aid upon the voluntary system. This measure, on which the Cabinet has been recently engaged, will be pushed forward next session, and will be opposed only by those whose opposition, as hostile to any settlement, is to be taken as a matter of course.

Among the non-political topics which were discussed during the year, the state of the national defences was prominent. The avowed intention of the Government to strengthen the navy met with some adverse criticism on the part of the Opposition, though no attempt was made to follow up the attack in Parliament. Public opinion was decidedly in favour of the Ministerial policy, and steadily refused to be drawn aside by schemes for building fortifications or reorganising land forces. The sinking of the ironclad *Sultan*, near Malta, was a warning that no addition to our naval strength could make up for lack of prudence or seamanship, and the lesson ought not to be neglected either because of the subsequent raising of the vessel by a firm of contractors or because Captain Kane's brilliant feat in bringing the *Calliope* safely out of the hurricane at

Samoa proves that the qualities desired are still forthcoming when the need arises. There has been much controversy about the type of ships to be built, but on the whole the judgment of experts has been in favour of the plans adopted by the Admiralty. The naval manoeuvres of the autumn were, in these circumstances, followed with peculiar interest. The presence of the German Emperor at the Spithead Review was observed with much satisfaction in this country, as were also the marked compliments which His Majesty subsequently paid to an English squadron that visited German waters.

The strength of the army was less frequently discussed, though Lord Wolseley's outspoken complaints at Oxford against the consequences of yielding to the pressure of unpatriotic politicians attracted a good deal of attention. An important movement for the better equipment of the Metropolitan Volunteers was started by Sir James Whitehead, then Lord Mayor, in the summer.

The Courts have dealt with several cases raising grave questions of ecclesiastical law, such as the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the proceedings against the Bishop of Lincoln, the right of the Bishop of London to exercise a discretionary power in the St. Paul's reredos case, and the suspension of the Vicar of Hoo for refusing the sacrament to a parishioner on the ground of alleged "schism." The campaign against the payment of tithes in Wales has been carried on with the encouragement of Sir William Harcourt and other Gladstonians, and with a practical adoption of Parnellite methods of action.

In the ordinary Courts the trial of Mrs. Maybrick for the murder of her husband resulted in a conviction which was accompanied by a scandalous exhibition of public excitement, and a conviction was also secured in the trial of Laurie for the Arran murder; but in both cases the mercy of the Crown was extended to the criminals. The dispute between Sir George Chetwynd and Lord Durham was referred to the arbitration of Mr. Lowther and two other assessors, and the award, though acquitting the plaintiff of personal wrongdoing, was held to justify in the main the defendant's strictures. The attempt to murder a County Court Judge by a disappointed suitor, a foreigner, is a new form of crime in England. The visit of the Shah of Persia attracted much less notice than in 1873. The

"social reform" movement has made itself felt not only in Sir Edward Guinness's munificent gift of a quarter of a million sterling to provide improved dwellings for the poor of London and Dublin, but in the efforts of private persons to bring the existing law into operation against the owners of insanitary habitations.

Alarms about the public health have been not infrequent. The spread of leprosy is being inquired into by a Commission of Experts; the increase of rabies in dogs led to a "muzzling order," issued by the Privy Council, which the London County Council declined to carry out, and which was then enforced by the police; and, as the year closes, it is feared that the influenza epidemic which has swept over the Continent is gaining a footing among us.

France, though no longer the mainspring of European politics, has been once more "the cynosure of neighbouring eyes." When the year opened the Republic seemed to be in the greatest danger, and there was a prospect that the torrent of accumulated discontent would bear General Boulanger to supreme power on its swelling crest. The feebleness of some of the Republican leaders and the violence of others provoked the distrust which found expression in the Paris election, when the "plebiscitary candidate" was returned by a majority of 245,000 against 162,000 recorded for his Radical opponent. While the Government was staggering under this blow, the collapse of the Panama Canal Company, almost immediately followed by the breakdown of the speculative efforts to keep up the price of copper, and by the consequent difficulties of the Comptoir d'Escompte, gave a shake to public credit and inflicted grievous losses upon individuals.

France has struggled manfully with these misfortunes and has overcome them. General Boulanger's pretensions were first attacked by M. Floquet's Cabinet in a measure substituting *scrutin d'arrondissement* once again for *scrutin de liste*, and this stroke was followed up by orders for the General's prosecution, on the mere rumour of which he fled to Belgium, and subsequently to England. Nevertheless M. Floquet and his colleagues did not command confidence, and their fall on a side issue occasioned no surprise. After many difficulties and delays M. Tirard succeeded in forming a Cabinet of no pronounced political colour, with the principal object, as it was

understood, of presiding over the Exhibition and preparing for a dissolution in the autumn. But it turned out that M. Constans and some of his colleagues were "fighting Ministers," and when General Boulanger's flight betrayed his sense of weakness the Departments of the Interior and of Justice began an active campaign, which has been vindicated by a complete victory. The prosecution of the General, with his adherents, M. Rochefort and M. Dillon, hung fire for some time, but at length the Senate, constituted as a High Court of Justice, found all the accused guilty and sentenced them in their absence to deportation. Some doubt still rests on the truth of the charges, and in minor matters it was admitted that mistakes had been made, but the Government were successful in the main point, which was to keep the General out of France and to discredit him with the masses.

Meanwhile the Exhibition was opened in May, immediately after the celebration of the centenary of the meeting of the States General; and though the chief Governments of the civilised world, excepting the United States and Switzerland, declined to take part in an avowed demonstration against Monarchy, public curiosity brought visitors, both French and foreigners, to Paris in greater crowds than on any former occasion. Even the Eiffel Tower, against which a vain protest had been made on aesthetic grounds, became extraordinarily popular. The Prince of Wales, the King of Greece, the Shah, and other illustrious personages were among the visitors, who were computed to have reached in all the enormous number of 6,500,000, nearly one-fourth coming from foreign countries.

The success of the Exhibition and the condemnation of General Boulanger encouraged the Government to strike while the iron was hot. In September the appeal to the constituencies was hastened on, and M. Constans used with vigour and, it is alleged, without scruple all the well-known resources of the Ministry of the Interior to secure the triumph of his party. On the other hand, a close alliance was formed between the Boulangists, the Bonapartists, and the various sections of the Monarchists, and the Comte de Paris issued a manifesto, which was severely criticised, calling on his friends, where they had no candidates of their own, to vote for the General's supporters. The internal feuds among the Republicans were suppressed during the electoral period, and the result showed that France

was not in favour of a policy of agitation and adventure. The Republicans returned 325 members to the new Chamber, while all sections of the Opposition had only 246, of whom not more than 41 were Boulangists. The first act of the new Assembly was to reject a proposal for the revision of the Constitution by 345 against 123 votes, and the strengthening of the Moderate Republicans held out the hope that a truce of parties might end in bringing over reasonable Conservatives to the cause of the Republic. The majority, however, have been invalidating the elections of their opponents, including that of General Boulanger himself, in a manner that gives little promise of peace, and the financial difficulties of the Government are likely to become pressing in the coming year.

The foreign policy of France has been unusually subdued and modest. She refused, indeed, in a churlish spirit to assent to the scheme for the reduction of the interest on the Egyptian Preference Debt from 5 to 4 per cent, which had been arranged by Sir Edgar Vincent before he resigned the office of Financial Adviser to the Khedive to assume the direction of the Ottoman Bank. The other Powers were prepared to agree, but France insisted on a pledge of immediate evacuation by England, which, in presence of the threatening movements of the "Dervishes" on the Upper Nile, was absurd. As the year closes she seems desirous of withdrawing from this position, but a compromise has not yet been assured.

The strained relations between the French and Italian Governments still continue, though here also there are signs of improvement. Signor Crispi, who appears to be more firmly seated in power by the reconstruction of his Ministry and the attempt upon his life, has accentuated his belief in the importance to Italy of retaining her place in the Triple Alliance both in the Chamber at Rome and at a banquet in his honour at Palermo. The rumours of a treaty between Italy and England have been officially contradicted, but it is perfectly well understood, in spite of protests supposed to be inspired by Mr. Gladstone, that this country could not allow the *status quo* in the Mediterranean to be overturned by the destruction of the Italian navy.

Spain has, on the whole, been tranquil. Señor Sagasta's Ministry still holds its ground, though opposed by Canovist Conservatives on the one side and Radicals and Republicans on the other. The Queen Regent has presided over the Govern-

ment of her infant son with success, and the visit which was paid to her by our own gracious Sovereign, during her stay at Biarritz, was generally accepted as the tribute of one best entitled to judge of public and private merit in a situation so critical.

Portugal has been undisturbed at home, in spite of the succession of a new sovereign and a Ministerial crisis, but both the Iberian kingdoms have felt the shock of the overthrow of the Brazilian Empire by a military revolt, and the foreign policy of the country, especially in regard to England, has been both undignified and unwise. The Republicans have been stirring, or at least noisy—not, it is suspected, without concert—among the Portuguese and the Spaniards alike. In Holland the King has been at death's door, and all arrangements were made for the severance of Luxemburg from the Netherlands, but the crisis has been postponed by an unexpected improvement in the King's health.

Towards her great rival, Germany, the policy of France was prudent and circumspect, while the German Government, evidently better pleased that the control of French affairs should remain in the hands of the Republicans than that they should pass into those of General Boulanger, did not encourage the polemics of the Press. That national susceptibilities were still on the watch for slights and menaces was shown by the indignant outbreak of the French newspapers and the scornful reply of the Germans which followed an unfounded rumour that the King of Italy was to be present with the Emperor at a review at Strasburg. The "League of Peace," indeed, has lost none of its importance under the new reign, and though German policy strives to maintain friendly relations with Russia, the separation of interests has produced visible coldness between the Courts and friction between the peoples. The unpleasant incident of the attack on Sir Robert Morier, for which Count Herbert Bismarck was justly held responsible, led to a momentary tension of feeling on the side of England, which, however, was removed by Prince Bismarck's cordial reference to this country in his speech on the opening of the Reichstag. A diplomatic controversy with Switzerland about the expulsion of the police agent Wohlgemuth looked serious, but has been amicably settled. The prosecution of Dr. Geffcken, which excited much interest at the close of last year, was dismissed by the Supreme Court.

But the most remarkable factor in German politics was the

energy with which the young Emperor impressed his personality on his own subjects and on all Europe. His almost restless activity was displayed in the frequent interchange of visits with other sovereigns. He came to England in the summer, and was much impressed by the naval review at Spithead. In Berlin he entertained the Emperor of Austria and the Kings of Italy, Sweden, and Denmark, and, finally, after delays which gave rise to much gossip, the Czar. In the autumn he went to Athens, taking Italy on his way, in order to be present at the marriage of his sister, the Princess Sophia, to the Duke of Sparta, the heir to the throne of Greece, and thence proceeded to Constantinople, where he met with a splendid welcome from the Sultan.

Austria-Hungary, meanwhile, has been going through a period of anxious trial. The death of the Crown Prince, the Emperor's only son, in circumstances the most distressing, is an event of importance in a monarchy where the personal influence of the Sovereign is the main bond between disconnected nationalities and diverging interests. The Emperor has refused to give any sanction to the movement for the recognition of Bohemia as an independent nation, united to the other parts of the Empire by the Crown only, and has roused the anger of the Slavs. In Hungary also the system of Dualism appears to be endangered by the revival of anti-Austrian feelings and the unpopularity of M. Tisza. Austria, Germany, and Belgium have been not less troubled than our own country by the labour question, strikes, actual or threatened, among the coal miners being most prominent, and connected, as it is feared, with the spread of organised Socialism.

The relations between Austria and Russia, arising out of their rivalry for influence in Eastern Europe, have been embittered on the one side by the predominance that Russian partisans have won in Servia and by the menacing concentration of Russian troops on the Galician frontier, and on the other by the sympathy bestowed in Austria-Hungary on the efforts of Prince Ferdinand and the patriotic Bulgarian party to escape from foreign dictation and obtain recognition from the Great Powers. Though Germany has shown not the least favour to the Bulgarians, Russia seems to have expected still more from her, and, in a moment of candid temper, the Czar startled the Continent by declaring that Montenegro was "Russia's only friend." Servia may now be added to this category, if not

Roumania also. King Milan, who had skilfully played off the Servian parties against one another and kept a firm hold on the Austrian alliance, suddenly threw up the game early in the year, abdicating in favour of his son Alexander, a lad of thirteen, who was quietly installed as sovereign under a Council of Regents. The pro-Russian party have been from the outset dominant in the Regency and the Assembly ; Queen Natalie, Milan's divorced wife, has been allowed to return to Belgrade, and a policy of ostentatious hostility towards Austria has been adopted.

The situation, however, is evidently one of unstable equilibrium. In Bulgaria Prince Ferdinand has held his ground, in spite of threats and discouragement, and the opponents of Russia, under M. Stambouloff, continue in power. The Porte has shown a more favourable disposition towards the existing order of things, which is still irregular. During Prince Ferdinand's tour through Austria, Bavaria, and France he was able to strengthen the credit of his adopted country by getting a railway loan of £1,000,000 contracted for with the Vienna Länderbank. In Roumania the disasters that befell M. Bratiano, the fall of the short-lived Cabinet which followed, and the accession to office of M. Catargi were looked upon as amounting to another Russian triumph ; but, after a few months of confused struggle, M. Catargi has, in turn, been overthrown, and as to the future of Roumanian politics it can only be said that here, too, Austrian and German influences have waned.

Turkey, regarded as a European Power, is chronically afflicted with the dread of a rising in Macedonia, for which Servians, Bulgarians, Montenegrins, and Greeks, not to speak of more distant and more important States, are eagerly watching. So far as Greece is concerned, the same thing may be said of the disturbances in Crete, which, however, were much exaggerated in the reports published by the enemies of Turkey. Such as they were, they did not originate in Turkish misgovernment, but in the local feuds of the Christian population under a Home Rule system. Chakir Pasha, the Governor appointed by the Porte, armed the Mussulman inhabitants of the towns, and acts of violence subsequently occurred ; but affairs are settling down quietly, and the appointment of a Christian Governor instead of Chakir Pasha may, it is hoped, lead to the pacification of the island. The position in Armenia is more embarrassing, for there

it is Russia that is on the look-out for what may turn up, and as Turkey had not fulfilled her promises of reform, she cannot plead, as in Crete, that autonomy has broken down. Exaggeration, no doubt, there has been in this case also, but that outrages have been inflicted by the Kurds on their Christian neighbours is certain, and that the Porte is unable or unwilling to punish the guilty seems to be only too clearly proved by the escape of Moussa Bey, the chief offender, after an illusory, though prolonged, inquiry, which, according to the most recent accounts, is to be reopened.

Egypt is still, nominally, a province of the Ottoman Empire, but Egyptian politics form, in fact, a part of that African problem which, as Lord Salisbury lately observed, is studied with a keener interest by the Great Powers than any European questions. The English administration in Egypt has already produced excellent results, which have been made plain by the improvement in the financial situation, and would be even more so were France to assent to the plan for the Conversion of the Preference Debt. But that these gains would be swept away by an invading torrent of barbarism and fanaticism from the South, if England were to withdraw her military force and no other Power were to step into her place, has been repeatedly shown by the demands made upon the British troops for the protection of the frontier. The Dervishes have been again and again repulsed, and in August Sir Francis Grenfell inflicted a heavy defeat upon them at Toski, killing their chief, Wad el Njumi. The Egyptians are not ungrateful for these services, which they know may at any moment be required once more, and when the Prince of Wales, during his visit to Cairo, put himself at the head of the British troops when they were paraded before the Khedive, the act was welcomed as a pledge of future protection.

It is not in Egypt alone that the concentration of the Mahdist power at Khartoum has produced serious consequences. The Abyssinians were defeated by the Mahdi's followers in the spring, when the Negus, King John, lost his life. Further to the south the last vestiges of the conquests made in the name of the Egyptian Government and in the cause of civilisation by Baker, Gordon, and their lieutenants may be said to have been obliterated. Emin Pasha's equatorial province has been submerged in a flood of anarchy, and the slave trade is dominant over the whole Soudan. Sinister rumours of the loss of Mr. Stanley's

relief expedition, as well as of Emin Pasha and his companions, prevailed during the spring and summer, but in November came the wonderful story of Emin's rescue and the march of Stanley's party to the coast, during which important contributions were made to geographical science. A serious accident to Emin has clouded the rejoicings over this success.

It cannot be denied, at the same time, that civilising influences both on the side of the Congo and on that of Zanzibar have been gravely compromised by the victories of the slave-dealers. Cardinal Lavigerie's crusade has, however, aroused the conscience of Europe, and we may hope that the Anti-Slavery Congress at Brussels will result in practical measures for excluding the slavers from their foreign markets. Meanwhile the Germans have been struggling with native hostility within their "sphere of influence," and Major Wissmann's vigour seems for the time to have got the better of the enemy. But passions have been stirred up which are not to be easily allayed. Dr. Peters's expedition, undertaken without the authority of the German Government, has met, according to persistent reports and probable conjecture, with a disastrous fate, and the quieter operations of the British East Africa Company, as well as of the missionaries on the East Coast, have been obstructed by the animosities bred during recent conflicts.

Another difficulty, threatening the prospects of British commerce and of British missions on the Zambesi and Shiré rivers and on Lake Nyassa, has arisen out of the revived ambition of Portugal to make herself a great African Power. This policy was foreshadowed early in the year by the action of the Portuguese Government in seizing the Delagoa Bay railway, under construction by an English Company, and handing over the works to a Portuguese Company, backed, it was stated, by Dutch and German capitalists, and designed to monopolise the traffic between the Transvaal and the sea. The organisation, under a Royal Charter, of the British South Africa Company, which had concluded alliances with native chiefs south of the Zambesi, seems to have spurred on Portugal to further advances, for in the autumn a decree was issued establishing a new Portuguese province inland on both banks of the Zambesi and practically barring the advance of other nations in the interior. Lord Salisbury promptly protested against this step, which would have carried the nominal sovereignty of Portugal from the

settlements on the East Coast to those on the West, but while negotiations between London and Lisbon were still going on the news arrived of Major Serpa Pinto's attack on our allies, the Makololo, and his boasted intention of conquering the country up to Lake Nyassa. The Portuguese did not shrink from defending this aggression by bringing gross charges against the British Consul, Mr. Johnston, and the missionaries. The controversy is still pending as the year closes, and English war vessels have been ordered to Delagoa Bay.

British interests, indeed, in South Africa are of growing importance. Even in the Transvaal the English element, though denied political rights by the Boers, is steadily asserting itself, through the vast development of the gold and diamond mining industries. The Africander movement at the Cape had been encouraged by the late Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, contrary to the views of the Home Government. He has been succeeded by Sir H. B. Loch, lately Governor of Victoria, whose place in Australia has been taken by Lord Hopetoun.

In the Australian Colonies the question of federation, both Imperial and internal, has been much discussed, but has made little practical progress, mainly owing to the rivalry between Victoria and New South Wales. The proposal of Sir H. Parkes for a Convention of all the Australasian Colonies to consider the question has not yet led to any practical result.

Canada, which is the typical example of colonial federalism, has had her own internal difficulties, but, at present, her principal anxiety is due to the pending controversies about fishing rights with the United States, both on the Atlantic seaboard and in Behring Sea. It was at one time feared that the return of the Republican party to power, especially when President Harrison made Mr. Blaine his Secretary of State, would embitter these long-standing disputes. Good sense, however, has hitherto prevailed. Though the *modus vivendi* is not to be continued, and no new agreement has been arrived at, the President, in his recent Message to Congress, speaks hopefully of the maintenance of friendly relations.

In domestic politics the Americans have been troubled once more with an excessive surplus of revenue and the difficulty of disposing of it. Four new States, North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington, were admitted to the Union and have organised their Governments. The prosecution at Chicago

of the murderers of Dr. Cronin has, after a trial of unprecedented length, laid bare the machinations of the Clan-na-Gael, and, though the punishment meted out to the convicted criminals fell far short of their deserts, the proceedings have riveted the attention of the American public and weakened the influence of the Irish vote. The Pan-American Congress, consisting of representatives from the principal States of North and South America, has met at Washington, and is looked upon as a recognition both of the Monroe doctrine and of the primacy of the United States. Another step in the same direction has been taken in the sanction given by Congress to the Nicaragua Canal, of which the works were begun in November, and which, it is believed, will fill the place of the abortive Panama scheme. The collapse of the Empire in Brazil at the first touch of a *pronunciamiento*, the exile of the Imperial family, and the proclamation of a federal Republic were naturally hailed with satisfaction in the United States. The history of this extraordinary revolution is still incomplete, for though the change of Government was carried out, apparently, without the least attempt at resistance, discontent and disintegrating forces have, apparently, already begun to work.

The high-handed proceedings of the Germans at Samoa early in the spring drew an emphatic protest from the United States, and the matters in dispute were finally settled at a conference in Berlin, on the basis of preserving the respective rights of all the Powers concerned, and of providing for the return to his native land of Malietoa, the chief whom the German authorities had arrested and deported.

In the Far East Japan has advanced in her imitation of European institutions, but that this movement is opposed by many is certain. The attempt to assassinate Count Okuma, who was, until the recent change of Government, Foreign Minister, is a proof that all is not as peaceful as it looks. In China the development of a railway system by native agencies has been avowed as the policy of the Government, but no practical measures have yet been taken to give effect to it.

Lord Lansdowne's Viceregal administration in India has, so far, been eminently successful. Sir D. Barbour's Budget was, on the whole, the most satisfactory produced for many years. The visit of Prince Albert Victor to our great Eastern dependency occurs, therefore, at a favourable time. The position of

the native feudatory States has been much discussed. The continued misgovernment of the Maharaja of Cashinere has compelled the Viceroy in Council to recommend, and the Secretary of State to sanction, his removal from active rule, practical power being entrusted to a council under the British Resident.

The obituary of the year includes a varied list of eminent names. The melancholy death by his own hand of the Crown Prince Rudolph, the heir of the Hapsburgs, left a more serious gap than that of King Luis of Portugal in the ranks of the Royal caste in Europe, to which also the Queen Dowager of Bavaria, the ex-Empress of Brazil, the Duchess of Cambridge, mother of the present Duke, the Prince of Carignan, uncle of the King of Italy, and, perhaps, Prince Charles of Monaco may be said to belong.

At home we have lost in Mr. Bright the greatest of recent orators, and in Mr. Browning one of the greatest of recent poets. The Church of England can ill spare Bishop Lightfoot of Durham, the most learned of contemporary prelates. Though no other names can be ranked with these, public life and society will miss the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Malmesbury, two Conservative ex-Ministers; Lord Falmouth, a distinguished patron of the turf; Lord Fitzgerald, a most capable and high-minded Irish Judge, and latterly a Lord of Appeal; Bishop Mackarness, Lord Addington, Lord Blachford, Sir Henry Yule, Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne, better known by his letters in this journal signed "S. G. O."; Lady Holland, who worthily sustained the traditions of Holland House; Mr. E. P. Bouvierie and Mr. A. M. Kavanagh, two Privy Councillors, who were once familiar figures in the House of Commons; Sir Charles Ducane, Sir Daniel Gooch, Sir Tindal Robertson, Sir Francis Adams, Mr. Firth, M.P., and The O'Donoghue.

In the world of science, literature, and art there have passed away Mr. Wilkie Collins, the novelist; Mr. William Allingham, the poet; Mr. John Ball, a distinguished scientific man, as well as author of the *Alpine Guide*; Dr. Joule, whose discoveries in science have been among the most fruitful of our day; Mr. Warren De la Rue, Sir F. Ouseley, Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, the Shakespearian scholar; Mr. MacDonald, the manager, and Dr. Francis Hueffer, the musical critic, of the *Times*; Dr. Kennedy, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge; Dr. Percy, of the School of Mines; Mr. T. O. Barlow, R.A., Mr. W. Ralston, the

Rev. J. G. Wood, the popular writer on natural history ; Mr. Carl Rosa, the operatic manager ; Mrs. Dallas, formerly Miss Glyn, an actress of much power ; Mr. Pellegrini, the caricaturist ; Mr. Albery and Mr. F. Marshall, the dramatists ; Mr. F. Clay, the composer ; Mr. Martin Tupper, Mr. S. C. Hall, and Miss Eliza Cook.

France has lost General Faidherbe, who won some partial successes against the Germans in 1870-71 ; Admiral Jaurès, M. Chevreul, the centenarian chemist ; M. Scherer, an acute literary critic, and lately a Senator ; M. Augier, the dramatist ; M. Ulbach, the novelist ; M. Félix Pyat, a Republican politician of the most extreme type ; and Dr. Ricord, the patriarch of the medical profession. In Italy, Signor Cairoli, formerly Premier ; in Russia, Count Peter Schouvaloff, once well known as the Czar's Ambassador in this country ; and Count Tolstoi, the Minister of the Interior ; in Austria, Count Karolyi, who represented his country successively at the Berlin Congress and in London ; in Germany, Dr. Peters, the leader of one of the East African exploring expeditions ; in Spain, Marshal Quesada, a veteran of the civil wars, have been mourned. In the United States, Jefferson Davis, who so nearly "made a nation" of the seceding Confederacy, has passed away. Father Damien, the devoted priest who died among the lepers of the Sandwich Islands, was a Belgian by birth, but his memory belongs to civilisation and humanity.

## 1890

THOUGH no events of world-wide importance have signalled the year, there have been, both at home and abroad, premonitory movements such as portend coming changes in the political and social organisation. The most significant of these, which point perhaps to a change in the political centre of gravity in the not distant future, have taken place outside of Europe, but even at home there are signs of the break-up of old parties, the consolidation of new forces, and the development of grave issues not hitherto presented in a practical form to the public mind. Mr. Gladstone's policy of Home Rule has been shattered by the disruption of the Irish Separatist faction and by Mr. Parnell's reassertion of Nationalist principles in their most extreme and impracticable shape. This surprising transformation scene has already begun to take effect upon the attitude of English politicians and to give prominence to the social controversies that Home Rule had thrust aside. It would be rash to forecast the ultimate relations of parties on this new ground.

What is going on, however, in other European countries and even in the United States can hardly be misconstrued. A large and powerful section of the working classes in every old community, and in some new ones, are eager to enter on a course of Socialistic legislation, which some who have no illusions as to its success would allow to be tried by way of experiment, without considering the danger of reconstructing the ancient and complex fabric of civilised society. The obscure and vague sense of uneasiness thus produced has probably contributed to check the militant ardour of the great States of the Continent. Peace, though an armed peace,

has been maintained during the year. In the United States, as in this country, parties are in a transition phase ; the issues raised at the Congressional elections have produced a new line of political cleavage, of which, however, the effect will not be entirely visible before the next struggle for the Presidency. The ambition of older States to acquire colonial dominion has been largely gratified by the treaty arrangements concluded during the past twelve months for the demarcation of "spheres of influence" in Africa. Germany, in particular, has shown remarkable activity in this direction since the retirement of Prince Bismarck and the striking assertion of his individual initiative by the Emperor William. In the older colonial settlements, too, there are symptoms of impending change. Among the Australasian colonists the question of federation has been discussed in a more practical spirit than at any former time, and in British North America the aggressive policy of the Washington Government has provoked a healthy outburst of independent feeling.

At home economical questions have been imperatively calling for attention. From a business point of view the year has been disappointing. The revival of trade in 1889 was not checked for some months, and when Mr. Goschen produced his Budget he was criticised for having taken an unnecessarily cautious estimate of the future. But in the summer various adverse influences began to make themselves felt. Agitation and conflict in the labour market, the decline in the price of Stock Exchange securities from a too high level, the fluctuations due to the silver legislation and the tariff controversy in America, and the bad weather of the harvest period caused anxiety and discouraged enterprise. Though the crops generally turned out better than had been expected towards the end of August, other elements of trouble were not removed, and after several weeks of restlessness and tension a crisis of the most formidable character was barely averted in November, when the great house of Baring Brothers, embarrassed by unwise commitments, chiefly in South American loans and undertakings, had to apply for aid to the Bank of England and was rescued and reconstructed by the action of the Bank, guided by its able Governor, Mr. Lidderdale, and supported by the guarantee of the principal firms in the city.

The situation was complicated by a separate financial crisis,

in the United States, but the prompt and energetic measures adopted by the Bank, which imported large sums in gold from France and Russia, stayed the movement towards panic. The reaction which followed has not carried back prices to their former level. Consols, which had touched par just after the conversion in 1888, fell in November to nearly ninety-three, and the "shrinkage" in other high-class stocks was alarming. The rise in the bank-rate and the protectionist policy adopted in America have retarded the upward movement of industry and commerce, as the latest returns show.

The most serious difficulty, however, was due to labour disputes. At the beginning of the year the gas strike in South London had ended in the defeat of the men, but the wire-pullers of the labour agitation soon renewed offensive operations. It is satisfactory that during the financial crisis and the fall in values there was no collapse of credit on a great scale. The machinery of the bankruptcy law, amended in some important points by Sir Albert Rollit's Bill, which was passed at the close of last session after a careful examination before the Standing Committees in both Houses, was subjected to no excessive strain. The extraordinarily severe winter—the coldest recorded for nearly fourscore years—has happily occurred too early in the season to interfere seriously with agriculture. Its effects, however, have been felt in the public health, and it has caused much suffering among the poor.

The friction left behind it by the dock strike of 1889 lasted throughout this year, leading to local conflicts and restlessness, and in many branches of business has induced the capitalists interested to make efforts to substitute permanent for casual labour wherever possible. At the docks and in the allied industries no serious strike occurred in London, though more than one was threatened, but the dockers at Liverpool, Glasgow, and Cardiff tried with no great success to coerce their employers. A more alarming struggle broke out at Southampton, where mob violence was at first met by the local authorities in a weak and temporising spirit, while, as soon as determination was shown, the strike collapsed, and was disavowed by the leaders of the movement at headquarters.

The attempt to proscribe the employment of non-Unionist labour was pursued with equal vigour in other directions

In the gas strike at Leeds the men won a complete, and in the South Wales railway strike a partial, victory. Their aggression was firmly resisted in the shipping trades, but the necessity for defensive combination was quickly brought home to the employers. In the autumn a Shipping Federation was formed, which has already embraced the principal firms in the United Kingdom, and has intimated that if sailors, firemen, and stevedores persist in their tactics of exasperation and obstruction, it may become necessary to lay up all British shipping for a time. Though as the year closes the tension has been renewed, this kind of life-and-death contest, with all its perils and losses, has hitherto been avoided, for which the public ought to be duly thankful. Just before Christmas a railway strike in Scotland has caused much public inconvenience. The hostilities in the shipping trades had their immediate origin in the gas strike, and were dictated by the policy which underlies what is popularly called the "new unionism," and which aims at coercing capitalists by subjecting the community to inconvenience, damage, and danger.

So far were these tactics carried that attempts were made not only to turn coal-miners, gas-stokers, and sailors into the instruments of this coercion, but to subvert discipline in services controlled by the State, such as the Police and the Post Office. The paralysis of the former would have exposed society to the perils of an unchecked outbreak of crime, and that of the latter, as was plainly avowed, would have struck a deadly blow at all business. There had for some time been a dispute between the Metropolitan Police and the Home Office with respect to superannuation, pay, and hours of duty, which came to a head when the differences between Mr. Matthews and Mr. Monro, the Chief Commissioner, resulted in the resignation of the latter. Socialist agitators had begun to proselytise among the force and had gained influence over many of the younger men; but though concessions were still urgently demanded, it was only in one division that a strike was imminent. At Bow Street, soon after Sir Edward Bradford's appointment as Mr. Monro's successor, a number of the younger men refused to go on duty, and when the worst offenders were promptly dismissed, a general turn-out of the division was threatened for the following night. The attempt, which assembled a dangerous crowd of the criminal and disorderly

classes opposite the police-station, was a complete failure, the loyal men and the military easily coping with incipient disturbances.

The agitation among the men employed in postal and telegraphic work came to a head just before the police crisis, when the Postmen's Union, which had been formed in defiance of official orders, promoted a demonstration in Hyde Park and a meeting in Holborn Town-hall, where an ultimatum was addressed to the Postmaster-General. The department had already prepared for a conflict by drawing on the non-Unionists and on casual men. While efforts were made to precipitate a general strike, the non-Unionists were maltreated and ejected from the Mount Pleasant parcel post dépôt, and at a meeting on Clerkenwell Green Mr. Raikes was warned that, unless all "blacklegs" were dismissed, the despatch and delivery of letters would be stopped. Decisive measures were taken to meet the danger. After full reliefs of non-Union men had been organised, the officials made a descent on the Mount Pleasant dépôt, and the riotous Unionists were dismissed. The delivery of letters was carried out next morning with little difficulty or delay, and after some penal dismissals the discipline of the service was fully restored. A similar movement in the telegraph service collapsed without an open struggle. The outbreak of insubordination at Wellington Barracks, which led to the despatch of the Second Battalion of the Grenadier Guards to Bermuda and the imprisonment of several of the ringleaders, was probably unconnected with these events, except as showing that the spirit of social strife was in the air. The threatened stoppage of the coal supply early in the year, in connection with the gas strike and the eight hours' cry, would have been not less formidable. A *modus vivendi*, however, between mine-owners and miners was secured.

Meanwhile, the question drifted into politics. Opinion among the working classes generally, and even among the coal-miners, is much divided in regard to the eight hours' movement, which was stimulated from the outside by the German Emperor's proposal for a congress on the labour question and by the working-men's May-Day demonstration. A section of the coal-miners, who were the first to make this a political issue, obtained from Lord Randolph Churchill a pledge in favour of the Eight Hours Bill, but were discouraged

by Mr. Gladstone's avowed preference, afterwards whittled away in Midlothian, for non-legislative action. Some of the ablest leaders of the working men, including Mr. Burt, Mr. George Howell, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Fenwick, and Mr. Bradlaugh, declared against legal compulsion, and Mr. John Morley told the Newcastle miners that he could not vote for it. The May demonstration in London turned out to be quite insignificant.

At the Trade Union Congress held at Liverpool in September, the party of compulsion, strengthened by the recent organisation of unskilled labour, overcame the old Unionists, though by narrow majorities ; but their victory has alienated many of the best working men, especially among the skilled Lancashire artisans. At the bye-elections for the Eccles and Bassetlaw Divisions this issue determined the mining vote. Mr. Gladstone's most recent utterances on the subject at West Calder indicate that he is now willing to limit by law the hours of labour in mines. Lord Salisbury has forcibly pointed out the economical danger of thus admitting a principle which, logically carried out, must land us in general State interference.

Though when the year opened Home Rule was still the main plank of the Gladstonian platform, Mr. Gladstone and his party were careful to give prominence in their speeches to other issues. Besides the labour question, a further rearrangement of the franchise law was demanded, Sir George Trevelyan being especially loud in this cry ; disestablishment in Wales, and, after a little more show of coyness, in Scotland, was accepted as an article of the Gladstonian faith ; stringent legislation against the liquor trades was advocated, the land laws were to be reformed, ground-rents were to be taxed, local government was to be extended to parishes, and, generally, "a new heaven and a new earth," as some hysterical persons boasted, were to be created by Mr. Gladstone's triumph at the polls.

As there seemed to be no immediate probability that an opportunity would be afforded of putting this prediction to a practical test, the Opposition continued to declare that an appeal to the constituencies was inevitable and near at hand. The Unionists contended, with more reason, that, as Parliament had over three years of its legal term to run and as their majorities in the House of Commons were steadily maintained, no dissolution was at all likely.

Mr. Gladstone amused himself after his fashion with calculations based on the pollings at bye-elections, though material was less abundant than in former years. The fortunes of the fray were chequered, though the balance inclined, on the whole, to the side of the Opposition. A Home Rule attack on the seat vacated in the Partick Division was repelled by the return of Mr. Parker Smith; the Unionists won back the seat they had lost in the Ayr Burghs, while at Windsor, and later in the year in the Bassetlaw Division, they largely increased the Conservative majorities of 1885. The Gladstonians, on the other hand, captured Unionist seats in Carnarvon, where the majority was still smaller than it had been the other way in 1886, in North St. Pancras, in Barrow, where the resignation of Mr. Caine and his appearance as a so-called Independent candidate allowed the Gladstonian to come in slightly ahead of the Conservative, and in the Eccles Division, where Mr. Roby boldly swallowed the Eight Hours Bill, a feat imitated with less success by the Separatist candidate in the Bassetlaw Division.

Mr. Gladstone, however, was as jubilant as if his gains had been three times more numerous, and some of his party adopted his arguments as an excuse for preaching and practising obstruction. The public were unmoved by these tactics until the proposals of the Government on the liquor question, adroitly misrepresented by the Opposition, stirred the fanaticism of the teetotalers. This force, before it spent itself in unreasoning extravagance, was of greater use to Mr. Gladstone than his wearisome repetitions of his fallacies and mythical tales about Ireland or his efforts to gratify the sectional and sectarian demands of Welsh and Scotch Radicals without compromising himself. It is scarcely necessary to mention that both parties carried on the political war, not only in Parliament, but on the platform, with unceasing activity.

Though the Irish controversy was followed, during the greater part of the year, with only a languid interest by the British public, it necessarily had a large share of the attention of Home Rule politicians. Mr. Gladstone was pressed, not only by Unionists, but by some of his own followers, like Mr. Asquith, to state what modifications he had made in his original Home Rule policy. For reasons, however, that have since become apparent, he maintained a rigid reserve, which he has not yet broken. He and his followers preferred to deal in loose

charges against the Irish Executive and to profess an unbounded faith in the honesty, purity, and veracity of Mr. Parnell and his party.

The Report of the Special Commission, published at the moment when Parliament met in February, found not only that Mr. Parnell and the majority of his following had engaged in a "criminal conspiracy" to defeat the law and to despoil owners of property in Ireland, had been allied with and subsidised by the anti-English faction among the American Irish, and had habitually incited to intimidation, knowing well that such intimidation led to crime and outrage, but that Mr. Davitt, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Dillon, and five other members of the "Parliamentary party" had conspired to establish the Land League in order to bring about "the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation." These findings did not check the enthusiasm of the Gladstonians, who dwelt triumphantly on the fact that the personal charges against Mr. Parnell had not been held to be proved.

While Mr. Parnell was being praised and feasted by the Gladstonians, his lieutenants had entered on a rash course in Ireland. Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien had committed themselves deeply to the Plan of Campaign and the attempt to back it up on the Ponsonby estate by inducing or compelling Mr. Smith-Barry's tenants in Tipperary, who had no connection whatever with the original dispute, to refuse to pay rent, on the ground that their landlord had supported Mr. Ponsonby. A large number of the Tipperary tenants gave up their holdings, their prosperous shops and comfortable houses in the town, and betook themselves to a village of rude shanties erected on ground outside, where they were to wait for their restoration to their homes after Mr. Gladstone's victory.

"New Tipperary," as it was called, was opened in the spring by Mr. O'Brien, escorted by some Gladstonian admirers, with flaming and defiant speeches; but the evicted tenants, who, though well able to pay, had been coerced into joining the conspiracy, complained that the promises held out to them of pecuniary and other support had not been kept. Nevertheless Tipperary and the Ponsonby estate depleted the Leaguers' exchequer. There were, moreover, the stipends of the "Parliamentary party" to be met, as well as the expenses of the next electioneering campaign.

A mission to America was resolved upon, though, as the anti-English fanatics had shown impatient contempt for the Gladstonian alliance, the envoys were not easily found. At last it was settled that Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon were to go, with others not at first named, and the prospect of a partial failure of the potato along the west coast, where the summer had been disastrously wet, furnished an excuse for another appeal to American liberality. Meanwhile Mr. O'Brien and his friends had been working vigorously in Tipperary to raise the spirits of those who believed in them and to frighten doubters and dissentients into submission. Coercion by boycotting and outrage had never been more stringently applied. Nowhere had incitements to these criminal methods been more openly employed. When, soon after the prorogation of Parliament, the Irish Executive decided on prosecuting Mr. O'Brien and his chief associates for speeches inciting to crime and intimidation, indignant wrath was expressed among Gladstonians at the arrest of the delinquents on warrants, since, it was said, the Crown was bound to have trusted to their honour to appear on summons.

When the trial came on Mr. Morley was induced to accompany his Irish friends to Tipperary as a sort of compurgator. A riot ensued, in which the police charged the mob who were trying to force their way into the court-house. "This outrage" figured conspicuously in Opposition speeches till even Mr. Morley recognised that not much could be made out of it while Irish patriots were bludgeoning one another in Kilkenny. Proceedings arising out of this riot were commenced, but have been indefinitely postponed. There is a conflict of testimony between the witnesses, including Mr. Morley himself, on the main issues. At the Tipperary trial Mr. Ronan, Q.C., the Crown counsel, was able to prove by cumulative and conclusive evidence that intimidation had been cruelly practised, and that the defendants had organised and advised it.

Midway in the inquiry Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon, released on bail during an adjournment, fled to France, and thence to America, where they began to collect money, not, as had been announced, for the relief of distress, but avowedly for the political "war-chest." A "Famine Fund" previously started by politicians anxious to please the Irish voters collapsed. Meantime the Tipperary trial went on; no serious defence was

offered, but every form of obstruction and insult was used to discredit and delay the judgment. The magistrates showed almost excessive patience and tolerance in dealing with baseless objections to their jurisdiction and disgraceful rowdyism in Court. In the end several of the defendants were convicted, others getting the benefit of a doubt. Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Dillon were sentenced to six months' imprisonment each. Their defiant language on the safe side of the Atlantic at first stimulated subscriptions, but Americans soon found out not only that the famine cry was a sham, but that the Irish Executive were taking all due care to meet local and temporary distress.

Mr. Balfour, who had been assailed for the brevity of his stay in Ireland, paid an unexpected visit to Western Connaught at the beginning of November, and a few days later one equally unlooked for to Donegal, in order to discover the best way of utilising the promised development of the light railways' policy, so as to provide employment for the cottiers whose potatoes had failed, and to ascertain what supplementary relief measures could be safely adopted. His conclusions on these points were afterwards explained in the House of Commons. At the time public interest was fixed chiefly on the very encouraging reception he met with from the peasantry, and in some cases from the priests. The anti-English Press were puzzled and chagrined at the discovery that their daily denunciations of Mr. Balfour did not deter the people from looking to him for real help in time of trouble.

The Tipperary case was a stock piece with the Opposition in the autumn campaign. Mr. Gladstone, in his Midlothian speeches, expatiated on the iniquities of the Irish Government with more zest than on the topics directly interesting to his Scotch audiences ; Mr. Morley recounted on various platforms his highly-coloured story of the Tipperary affair ; and Sir William Harcourt, at the National Liberal Federation, proved that the Eccles election expressed the public judgment against the Unionists. On the other hand, Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Balfour, and the Prime Minister in their speeches riddled the Separatist case. The Chief Secretary exposed the Gladstonian misrepresentations about Tipperary. Lord Hartington asked what proof there was that the Irish masses would acquiesce in limited Home Rule, to which Mr. Morley in-

dignantly replied that they had Mr. Parnell's assurances of 1886. This was rather an audacious appeal to character after the Special Commissioners had repeatedly discredited Mr. Parnell's statements.

Immediately afterwards, in the middle of November, came the trial of the divorce case, "O'Shea v. O'Shea and Parnell," in which the respondent did not produce any evidence or practically resist the decree, while the co-respondent, despite his declarations of innocence, accepted by the Gladstonians as unhesitatingly as those about Home Rule, was not even represented by counsel. The case which the Solicitor-General established by unchallenged testimony on Captain O'Shea's behalf disclosed a long course of low intrigue and unblushing mendacity, diversified by disguises, *aliases*, and ludicrous flights, quite consonant with the Unionist view of Mr. Parnell, but astounding to honest and ignorant Home Rulers.

Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues held their tongues, however, for many days, while some Radicals, like Mr. Labouchere, declared that the matter was one to be settled by the Irish party alone. This the party proceeded to do at a meeting in Dublin, where the Lord Mayor presided, and Mr. McCarthy, Mr. Healy, and Mr. Gladstone's former law-officers expressed unabated confidence in Mr. Parnell and unqualified contempt for English meddling in this peculiarly Irish affair. The Roman Catholic hierarchy and clergy were silent. But on public opinion in England and Scotland the exhibition of Mr. Parnell's depravity had a deep effect. As Sir Charles Russell admitted, popular indignation, especially among the Nonconformists, compelled Mr. Gladstone to intervene. Suggestions of retirement "for a time" were pressed on Mr. Parnell, but he would not listen, and before Mr. Gladstone's objections were made public the Irish party, on the first day of the winter Session, re-elected their leader without a dissentient voice. Mr. Gladstone then published a letter to Mr. Morley declaring that the retention by Mr. Parnell of the Irish leadership "at the present moment" would reduce his own leadership "almost to a nullity."

Mr. Parnell replied in an address to the Irish people, giving details of his confidential negotiations at Hawarden, denouncing the intended withdrawal of the control of the police and the settlement of the land question from the Irish Legislature, and

asserting the independence of the Irish party against corrupting offers of place and dictatorial interference. Mr. Parnell's statements were contested on several points by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley, but the fact remained that Mr. Parnell repudiated limited Home Rule and appealed to the Irish Nationalists on that issue.

A violent struggle followed at a meeting of the Parliamentary party. Mr. Parnell was in the chair, though by no means neutral. All those whose ambitions he had curbed or whose feelings he had wounded joined to enforce the Gladstonian excommunication. Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Healy led the attack, forgetful of their Dublin speeches, and were aided by Mr. Sexton; but a zealous band, including the extreme men, stuck to Mr. Parnell. The Irish Bishops at length took heart to denounce the man spurned by Mr. Gladstone. The "envoys" in America, except Mr. Harrington, declared against him, though not very decisively. After days of passionate discussion, over which Mr. Parnell presided with unscrupulous partiality, he induced his opponents to adopt a so-called compromise, offering to resign should Mr. Gladstone's reply to a demand for a statement of his views on the land and police questions be held satisfactory by the majority.

As Mr. Gladstone refused to give any answer at all, the majority had nothing to discuss, and had either to surrender or to withdraw. They chose the latter course, though it broke the compromise they had accepted, and forty-five of them, led by Mr. McCarthy, held a separate caucus, at which they voted Mr. McCarthy into Mr. Parnell's place. This vote the Parnellites treated as null and void. The contest was immediately transferred to Ireland, where a seat was vacant in North Kilkenny, for which Sir John Pope Hennessy was a candidate. Mr. Parnell hastened to Dublin, where the mob was with him as well as the organisation of the League, the "physical force party," and the *Freeman's Journal*. He took forcible possession of *United Ireland*, turning out, with crowbar and cudgel, the staff who were working it in Mr. O'Brien's interest, and then proceeded to Cork, where he was enthusiastically welcomed, and where his opponents could hardly get a hearing.

At Kilkenny it was different. The priests, for whom Sir J. P. Hennessy had declared, were active and powerful; Mr. Scully, the Parnellite nominee, had no special influence; the

Fenian element was only strong in the towns. The strength of the anti-Parnellites was put forth in Sir J. P. Hennessy's cause. Mr. Davitt and Mr. Healy, both known to be unfriendly to their former leader, bitterly assailed him, and Mr. Parnell retorted still more fiercely.

The language used on both sides far surpassed the worst licence of election times in England ; rival mobs, armed with shillelaghs, met hand to hand ; and priests and patriots indiscriminately took part in the fray. While the issue of the strife was doubtful, Mr. Harrington, who stood by Mr. Parnell, returned from America ; Mr. O'Brien, who, as well as Mr. Dillon, was inclined to remain on the fence, started for Paris, to avoid arrest, on landing in Ireland, under the Tipperary conviction. Eventually Sir. J. P. Hennessy was returned by a majority of nearly two to one over Mr. Scully. But Mr. Parnell continued to face his foes defiantly, promising to fight the battle out all through Ireland. At the last moment negotiations between the two hostile factions have been opened in France with Mr. O'Brien as intermediary, but the prospect of a compromise is not clear.

The spectacle presented by the strife of Parnellites and anti-Parnellites in Ireland shook the faith of many Gladstonians in Home Rule. Though the Kilkenny election slightly revived their spirits, few of them continued seriously to believe that, after the exposure of the real character and objects of the Irish Home Rulers, Mr. McCarthy could be treated with exactly on the same terms as Mr. Parnell. The Liberal Unionists were not inclined to stake anything on the shifting purposes of the Gladstonians, and Mr. Chamberlain took occasion, during the Irish crisis, to propose a closer co-operation in Birmingham between Conservative and Liberal opponents of Separatism, in the spirit of the general policy necessitated by the anarchical attitude of the Opposition in and out of Parliament, and, indeed, publicly avowed by Lord Hartington and Sir Henry James.

The situation thus created was further strengthened for the Unionists by the success with which they started their legislative measures on the meeting of Parliament in November, when the Opposition, utterly dismayed by the faction-fighting of their Irish allies, made no effort to carry out Mr. Labouchere's threats of obstruction. In the Speaker's absence, through domestic affliction, the chair was occupied by Mr. Courtney,

but no question of Parliamentary law arose ; the new form of reply to the Royal Message, proposed by Ministers to expedite debate, proved needless, and the Address was voted on the first evening of the session without a division. The foremost place was given to the Tithe Bill, in a less complicated form than that of last session ; and the Land Purchase Bill, divided into two for tactical convenience. Next in order came measures dealing with Private Bill business in Scotland and Ireland and with Assisted Education in England. Mr. W. H. Smith, in asking for the whole time of the House, promised that, if the Speaker were got out of the chair on the Tithe and Purchase Bills, and if Mr. Balfour's measures of Irish relief were put through before Christmas, he would consent to a moderately long adjournment. In fact, this amount of work, which usually would have been spread over several weeks, was despatched in just a fortnight, when the Irish Seed Potatoes and Railway Transfer Bills became law, and the Houses adjourned to the 22nd of January.

Both the London County Council and the London School Board will have to face new elections in the coming year—a fact not without effect on their recent conduct. In both cases the rates have gone up ; while the County Council alleges that the sole cause is the loss of the coal duties, the Board throws the responsibility on its predecessors for lavish outlay on jerry-building. Neither body can be said to be at present popular with the public. Lord Rosebery's resignation of the chairmanship was felt to be a serious blow to the reputation of the Council in spite of the high character of the new chairman, Sir John Lubbock, who has been succeeded as vice-chairman by Sir Thomas Farrer. The dog-in-the-manger policy advocated by the majority, after the betterment scheme had been rejected by Parliament, and their disposition to interfere in non-municipal affairs, have not tended to restore confidence. The incapacity of women for sitting on such bodies has been reaffirmed by the imposition of penalties on Miss Cobden for voting in defiance of the law laid down in Lady Sandhurst's case. Miss Fawcett's victory over the Senior Wrangler at Cambridge may be regarded as a consolation prize for the women's rights' party.

Among many important judicial decisions that delivered by the Primate in the Bishop of Lincoln's case was memorable for painstaking research and a desire to hold the balance even

between all ecclesiastical parties. Dr. Barnardo has once more come into collision with the Courts through a zeal that seems rather careless of the rights of others.

“General” Booth, a religious philanthropist on a larger scale, has appealed to the public on behalf of what he calls the “submerged” classes in “Darkest England.” He has already got a considerable sum towards the million sterling he asks for, but his plan and his methods have been subjected to a severe and damaging criticism from the civil, the religious, the philanthropic, and the economical point of view by Professor Huxley, Dean Plumptre, Mr. C. S. Loch, and other competent persons. An equally warm but less important controversy on publishers’ profits originated in a paper read by Archdeacon Farrar at the Church Congress, and as the year closes the question of American copyright has again come up for discussion, owing to the unexpected disposition shown by Congress to grant copyright to British authors. Dissatisfaction with the administration of the War Office and the Admiralty has been justified by the doubts cast on the serviceable qualities of the magazine rifle and of our heavy ordnance, as well as by disasters like the loss of the *Serpent*.

The European situation has not changed during the year. The “League of Peace” still confronts France on the one side and Russia on the other, and the strengthening of armaments continues. The retirement of Prince Bismarck has had a more marked effect on the domestic than on the foreign policy of Germany. The Emperor and his new Chancellor, General von Caprivi, have abandoned the Bismarckian attitude of reserve towards projects of colonial development, and, after the general elections to the Reichstag, which wrecked the National Liberals and weakened their Conservative allies, the anti-Socialist laws were dropped. The Radicals and Social Democrats are no longer insignificant, and the Clerical Centre has been largely reinforced. It remains to be seen how far the Socialists will be contented with such overtures as those of the Labour Conference, of which the results fell short of the Emperor’s too ambitious views, and merely recommended changes amounting to what law and custom prescribe in England.

The interest in the parting between Prince Bismarck and his master, which led to some acrimonious controversy, soon waned. It is obvious that there were wide differences on

questions of policy between the Emperor and the ex-Chancellor, as well as incompatibility of temper ; but, though the precise grounds of the separation have not yet become known, it is tolerably certain that the question of Ministerial responsibility, which is hardly to be reconciled with autocratic initiative, was at the bottom of the quarrel.

The compromise with England in Africa, the acquisition of Heligoland, the Imperial utterances on the Education question, and the alleged discovery of a cure for consumption by Dr. Koch have more recently attracted public notice. The Emperor visited the Queen, his grandmother, at Osborne, and the Czar at Narva in the summer, and welcomed the Austrian Sovereign in Silesia.

Some alarm was excited in Austria when Prince Bismarck's resignation quickly followed that of M. Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, when Count Taaffe's Cisleithan Ministry was imperilled by the extravagance of the advanced Home Rule party in Bohemia, and when it seemed doubtful whether Signor Crispi's policy would not be warped by the Irredentist agitation.

Other causes of uneasiness were the continued agitation in the Balkan States, the prevalence of labour riots and strikes, and the damage inflicted on Austrian industry by the M'Kinley tariff. As the year closes the prospect is somewhat brighter. The elections to the Italian Parliament have given Signor Crispi an overwhelming majority, the Irredentists having failed to arouse any national feeling. The interview between the Italian Premier and the German Chancellor at Milan confirmed the belief that Italy is steady in her support of the League of Peace. The danger in Italy is mainly a financial one, for in no other country is the burden of increased armaments so severely felt.

The French were not much occupied during the year with foreign affairs. The complete collapse of Boulangism at the municipal elections in the spring led to a violent split soon afterwards in the "plebiscitary party" and to the publication by M. Mermeix of damaging disclosures bearing upon the intrigues and corruption of his former associates. It was established that much of the General's popularity was produced by the free expenditure of money largely derived from Monarchical sources. The Comte de Paris, in a letter published in the autumn, did not dispute this fact, admitting that he considered

any instrument legitimate to use against the Republic. He thus lost the advantage which the Monarchical cause had gained earlier in the year by the imprisonment of his son and heir, the Duke of Orleans, who was arrested on presenting himself for service in the ranks of the army as a French citizen.

The Republic has decidedly recovered lost ground through the mistakes of its adversaries, and M. de Freycinet's Ministry, which succeeded that of M. Tirard in March, has avoided the risks of intemperate Radicalism. Cardinal Lavigerie, a highly respected representative of the Roman Catholic Church, has lately intimated that if the Republicans dropped their aggressive anti-clerical policy there would be nothing to prevent all classes of Frenchmen from recognising and working in harmony with existing institutions. The financial situation, however, remains the same, and the proposed new tariff raises questions as thorny as those which have agitated the United States. It has lately been thought probable that there would be another Ministerial shuffling of the cards.

While France has escaped the revolutionary storms that not long ago seemed impending, some of her neighbours have been less fortunate. The usual tranquillity of Switzerland was disturbed by a "tempest in a tea-cup" at Bellinzona, where the Radicals revolted and forcibly overthrew the Conservative Government of Canton Ticino, and one of the members of the latter was shot. The extradition of the alleged murderer was demanded by the Swiss authorities, and was ordered by the magistrate at Bow Street, but it was decided by the Queen's Bench Division that the shot was fired during disturbances approximating to civil war, and that the case, therefore, came within the rule exempting political offences from the provisions of the Extradition Treaty. Peace was restored at Ticino by the armed intervention of the Federal Government, and attempts have been made to establish a permanent *modus vivendi* between the warring factions.

Of a graver kind was the restlessness in the Iberian Peninsula. In Spain alarm was created early in the year by the illness of the little King, from which he happily recovered; Señor Sagasta, after overcoming the difficulties which threatened his Cabinet twelve months ago and passing a measure of universal suffrage, which seems of doubtful expediency at the present stage of Spanish progress, resigned in the summer, and was succeeded

by Señor Canovas del Castillo at the head of a Conservative Cabinet, who has since contrived to secure an official majority at the general election. Spain has felt the anti-Monarchical agitation bred in Portugal by the fall of the Brazilian Empire, and revolutionary ideas have gained some ground in the large towns.

In Portugal the extreme weakness and timidity of public men combine with the violence of an ignorant populace to create a dangerous sense of political instability. Twice during the year the Ministers at Lisbon have fled from office in fear of mob fury rather than face the responsibility of dealing fairly with English rights and ratifying official pledges. The dispute with Portugal is a part of the African question, and it is only here referred to as illustrating defects in the national character that are likely enough to be practised upon by Republican zealots or intriguers.

The death of the King of the Netherlands had been so long foreseen that its recent announcement produced no political sensation. In Holland the succession of the Princess Wilhelmine had been settled by law, and Queen Emma, who had been installed as Regent during her husband's last days, continues to govern constitutionally for her daughter. In accordance with treaties, Luxemburg, separated from the Dutch Crown, becomes an independent neutral State under the nearest agnate, the Duke of Nassau.

Holland and, still more, her neighbour, Belgium, have been stirred by the labour movement. Their relations have remained friendly, except for the opposition of Holland to the levying of import duties in the Congo State, as recommended by the conference on the slave trade, which sat at Brussels in the spring and drew up a code of rules for the suppression of that infamous traffic. Belgium is interested in this question, for to her has been secured the reversion of the King's rights. If the conference plan be carried out the Congo State must either raise additional income or go bankrupt, and the persistence of the Dutch in opposing the duties would therefore nullify the action agreed upon by all the other Powers in the interests of civilisation. Happily the reluctance of Holland has been at last overcome, and at the very close of the year the Dutch Minister signed at Brussels the General Act of the anti-Slavery Conference.

The attitude of reserve which Russia has lately maintained

politically has not been departed from, though the notion that a closer connection with Germany, out of distrust of French fickleness, was probable remains unconfirmed. The reported cruelties in Siberia and, at a later date, the more rigorous enforcement of the penal laws against the Jews moved public opinion throughout Europe. In this country especially a strong appeal was made to the justice of the Czar on behalf of the latter class of victims. In the Balkan Peninsula the traditional policy of Russia has been cautiously pursued. Without any breach of the peace a pervading sense of uneasiness has been created, while tempting offers of Russian protection and alliance are contrasted with vague menaces of evil in case of obstinate resistance.

In Servia these tactics have been aided by the claims of Queen Natalie to have her divorce set aside and her rights over the young King recognised, but the Regency has not yet quite succumbed. In Bulgaria, Prince Ferdinand's position remains unchanged ; M. Stambouloff's power was not shaken by his high-handed treatment of his opponents, the trial and execution of Major Panitza, the still unanswered challenge to the Porte to recognise the Prince, or the defiant disclosure of Russia's overtures. Servia and Bulgaria are both watching the situation in Macedonia, with mutual threats of war, and Greece also is looking for her share in the "sick man's" succession. It was feared at first that the fall of M. Tricoupis, the Greek Premier, who was quite unexpectedly beaten by two to one at the general election in the autumn, would precipitate a struggle, but the Cabinet of M. Delyannis has hitherto steered a pacific course.

Turkey, in the presence of these rivalries, has wisely kept quiet ; though her financial position is still deplorable, there are signs of improvement. There remain the perennial mis-government of Armenia, which, however exaggerated, is real, and which appeals not alone to the public opinion of Europe but to the vigilant ambition of Russia, and the agitation, mainly factitious, which convulses Crete, in spite of liberal concessions.

Egypt, under British control, presents a striking contrast to the rest of the Ottoman Empire. Order and solvency have been so well-established that Mr. Chamberlain, once an advocate of immediate evacuation, returned a convert, as he has confessed, to the occupation policy, after his visit early in the year. The

improved financial position justified the Government in asking the Powers to agree to the conversion of the debt, which France had resisted in 1889, but to which, after much diplomatic fencing, she has since consented, into a Three-and-a-Half per Cent stock. The Egyptian taxpayers would be in a still better position were the Government not hampered by the conditions France has imposed. Alarm was created by the movements of the "dervishes" both above Wady Halfa and near Suakin, but nothing has occurred to justify it in either quarter.

The growing political interest in the "scramble for Africa" was quickened by the news of Major Serpa Pinto's aggression among the Makalolo and a little later by Mr. Stanley's return in triumph from his "quest" for Emin Pasha. The recall of the filibustering Portuguese was demanded by our Government, and, after much procrastination, was conceded by the Cabinet at Lisbon, which was immediately swept away in a convulsion of foolish anti-English wrath on the part of the mob.

Meantime Mr. Stanley had come back to Europe with the thrilling story of his journey from the Congo to the Albert Nyanza and thence to the East Coast. There he left Emin Pasha, who soon after entered the German colonial service, but was found so unfit either for obedience or command that he has lately been sent home by Major Wissmann. Mr. Stanley met with an enthusiastic welcome in this country, where his marriage with Miss Tennant excited warm public interest. He did much to keep popular attention fixed on the development of Africa and the risk of allowing other nations to elbow us out of a continent mainly opened up by British enterprise. It is to be deplored that Mr. Stanley's services have been overshadowed by the painful controversy that has arisen about the conduct of his rear column, his charges against Major Barttelot, Mr. Jameson, and others, and the counter-charges of the friends of these dead men.

Lord Salisbury's policy was not justly liable to Mr. Stanley's criticisms, as was soon shown by the negotiations that ended in the Anglo-German agreement. Germany surrendered Vitu and the region north of the territory of the British East Africa Company's, and acknowledged a British protectorate over Zanzibar, obtaining in exchange the recognition of her rights over the coast southwards from the river Umbo to the Mozambique

border. In the "Hinterland," up to Lake Tanganyika and the Congo State, German influence was recognised within the vast region bounded by a line running through the Victoria Nyanza and by the "Stevenson road" from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Nyassa. British influence was acknowledged to extend north of the former limit as far as the Equatorial Province and the head waters of the Nile. The right of England to open up the country beyond her South African possessions in the direction of the Zambesi, and including Ngamiland, was conceded, while Germany was given access to the upper waters of the great river from her acquisitions on the West Coast.

In Europe, England ceded Heligoland to the German Empire with the approval of all sensible and practical men. In Africa, however, the settlement could not be considered complete as regards British interests without supplementary arrangements in which other Powers were concerned. France raised objections to our protectorate in Zanzibar on the ground of old engagements which she had herself disregarded in Madagascar. It was ultimately settled that the situation in Zanzibar and that in Madagascar should be placed on the same footing, while a "sphere of influence" was appropriated to France, giving her the command of the Sahara from the southern borders of Algeria to the Upper Niger and Lake Tchad.

Negotiations with Italy, for the delimitation of her "sphere of influence" in the region behind her stations on the Red Sea and her Abyssinian protectorate, have been hitherto defeated, in spite of Lord Salisbury's optimist language at the Guildhall, by the difficulty of reconciling the Italian claim to Kassala with the rights of Egypt, though not the least ill-feeling has arisen in consequence.

A convention with Portugal was arranged, giving the Portuguese more than they had ever reduced to actual possession, and securing for England the right to colonise the central territory up to the Congo State and the Stevenson road, as well as supremacy over the Shiré highlands and the freedom of the Lower Zambesi. But the Ministers at Lisbon possessed no more sagacity and courage than their predecessors who had fled before the Serpa Pinto agitation ; they resigned when the Cortes refused to ratify the treaty, and for weeks the political life of the kingdom was suspended by mob violence. A *modus vivendi* has been since arranged with a make-shift Portuguese Cabinet,

provisionally maintaining both parties in the previous positions for a period of six months.

Events in South Africa, however, are not standing still, and the *status quo* is no longer what it was half a year ago. The Cape Colonists have protested against the settlement of European "spheres of influence" without consulting them, and their attitude is the more important because Mr. Rhodes, the able and enterprising head of the British South Africa Company, became last summer Prime Minister at Cape Town. Mr. Rhodes's company has already sent a successful expedition to Mashonaland, where gold is believed to exist in quantity, and an exploring force in Manicaland has come into collision with Portuguese officials, producing another outbreak of popular rage at Lisbon and an undignified as well as ineffectual appeal by Portugal to the Powers. When Mr. Rhodes arrives in England his explanations must be dispassionately compared with the Portuguese complaints, but Portugal cannot fail to see that she has much to lose by delaying the ratification of the treaty.

In North America the commercial prosperity of Canada has been directly attacked by the new tariff legislation of the United States, with the intent, avowed by some American politicians, of forcing the Canadians to enter the Union. Hitherto this policy has had a quite opposite effect, not only irritating Canadian feeling, but arousing the Canadians, as Sir John Macdonald hastened to declare, to strike out new schemes for the development of their trade. The conduct of the Washington Government on the Behring Sea question has not been more conciliatory, and President Harrison's reply to the suggestion of arbitration is a proof that there is no desire to adopt a reasonable compromise so long as votes can be angled for by demanding an unconditional surrender of international rights on our part. The controversy with the French about the Newfoundland fisheries does not present so clear an issue. Unfortunately the colonists are quite as obstinate as the French, and can point to a real grievance in the bounty system. Both these questions remain unsettled as the year closes.

Australasia is happily removed from the complications of foreign politics. The Federation question has made considerable progress, though the conference held at Melbourne in the spring brought to light many suppressed jealousies. The delegates of

all the colonies—including West Australia, which has this year been granted responsible government and the absolute control of an immense unsettled territory—have declared in favour of union under one Legislature and Executive. Their decision has been notified to the Imperial Government, and from this point of departure the discussion is to be resumed.

A change of Ministry in Victoria was precipitated by the revolt of the labour representatives, because support had been refused to the great shipping strike, but this was not the sole reason, since many interests had become disgusted with reckless expenditure on unremunerative railways for political objects. The strike, which was an attempt to exclude non-union labour, spread through all the Australasian colonies and was subsidised by the English unions. It was boldly met by the shipowners and other capitalists; and, its organisers having alienated all outside sympathy by cynical indifference to the public interest, and being deserted by their friends at home, the movement ended in a complete collapse.

Our Indian Empire has been prosperous and tranquil. The finances show a decided improvement. A certain amount of relief has been derived from the rise in silver, though not as much as was hoped for. The visit of the Prince of Wales's eldest son at the beginning of the year has been followed at its close by a still more striking visit, that of the Czarewitch. The so-called "National Congress" is now meeting at Calcutta. A powerful section of the Hindoos are opposed to any discussion of the question of child marriage, which has been brought prominently before the British public by Mr. Malabari and other advocates of reform. On the other hand, Mahomedan opinion has raised a cry against the principle of elective local councils, imperfectly acknowledged in Lord Cross's Bill, for which the Hindoo majority are naturally eager.

In South America Brazil has settled down, more quietly than many expected, as a Republic; but the Argentine Confederation has passed through a revolution which has had the gravest financial results. A military revolt against the government of Dr. Celman, the President, who was accused of extravagance and malversation, made the streets of Buenos Ayres the scene of civil conflict and went far to shatter the tottering credit of the State. The President, for a moment triumphant, was in the end abandoned by his colleagues and forced to resign.

Since then the Confederation has been at peace and has striven, not wholly in vain, to recover lost ground, but the shock to Argentine, and, indirectly, to Uruguayan, credit has been disastrous. It was, as we have seen, the proximate cause of the financial crisis in London.

The disturbed condition of South America has rather checked the enthusiasm of the people of the United States for Mr. Blaine's policy as illustrated by the Pan-American Congress. The Republicans, however, have not been content to rely on this appeal to Chauvinist sentiment or on the usual resource of worrying England. Having command, for the moment, of the Executive and of both branches of the Legislature, the party in power at Washington deemed the occasion fitting for conciliating the interests identified with Protection in view of the autumn elections and the next struggle for the Presidency. The Silver Bill was first carried in order to make sure of the support of the Western States, but after a temporary advantage had been gained production has once more overtaken demand, and caused a new cry for more silver legislation.

A more momentous step in the same direction was the new tariff, which took its name from Mr. M'Kinley, one of the representatives of Ohio in the Lower House. This measure, framed on the highest protective principles, and, in fact, prohibitive of many foreign products, was passed after an obstinate fight by the Republican majority with the assistance of Speaker Reed, who used all the powers of his office to secure the victory of his party. The Republicans were jubilant, and few among them doubted that, at least for the time, they had secured popular support. The elections, however, for the new House of Representatives, which took place in the autumn, soon after the M'Kinley Bill had become law, showed a swift and complete revulsion of opinion. Consumers at once felt the burden of the new duties, and producers grew more and more doubtful of the promised benefits. The Congressional elections gave the Democrats an overwhelming majority in the House, and the state elections secured them indirectly several votes in the Senate. It is now certain that the next great party battle will be fought out on the question of the tariff.

An outbreak of the Indians on the reserves of the Far West caused more excitement and apprehension than seem to be reasonable considering the strength of the United States and

the scanty numbers of the "red men." The expedition sent to suppress the revolt has, however, led to a deplorable collision, in which the troops, suddenly attacked, seem to have lost their heads and to have slaughtered a large number of the Indians, including women and children.

The obituary of the year includes some illustrious and many conspicuous names. To the political consequences of the death of the King of the Netherlands we have already alluded. The Empress Augusta of Germany ; the Duke of Aosta, formerly King Amadeo of Spain ; the Duke of Montpensier, once a competitor for the same throne ; and the Sultan of Zanzibar, who also may be said to have belonged to the royal caste, are gone.

At home the list of our numerous losses is headed by one of the greatest of contemporary writers—Cardinal Newman, one of the masters of English prose, as well as a potent force in the religious movement of the age. The Church of England, in which Newman was bred and to which in a certain sense he never ceased to belong, has been deprived in the Archbishop of York of an able and energetic prelate, in the Dean of St. Paul's of a scholarly and accomplished successor to Milman and other eminent men of letters, in Canon Liddon of the most eloquent and fascinating pulpit orator of our time. She has lost also Dean Oakley of Manchester, the Rev. Henry White of the Savoy, Bishop Parry, and Dr. Littledale. Lord Carnarvon, an amiable and accomplished statesman, was cut off at a comparatively early age ; Lord Napier of Magdala, the conqueror of Abyssinia, Lord Lamington, a survivor of the Young England coterie, Lord Cottesloe, who had been Chief Secretary in Ireland at a time that now seems to belong to ancient history, Lord Tollemache, a most conscientious and liberal-minded representative of English "landlordism," Lord Hammond, long connected with the Foreign Office, Sir Edwin Chadwick, the veteran sanitary reformer, Sir Edward Baines, who represented Leeds for many years, Sir William Gull, the distinguished physician, Sir Richard Wallace, famous for his art collections and his liberality, and Dr. Nathan Adler, the Chief Rabbi of the English Jews, had passed the Psalmist's span.

In England, among those who had sat on the Bench, judicial or magisterial, we miss the names of Sir Barnes Peacock, of the Privy Council, Mr. Justice Manisty, Mr. Baron Huddleston,

Sir James Ingham, and Sir William Hardman ; in Ireland, those of Lord Justice Naish, Baron Dowse, Judge O'Hagan, and Judge Litton. The deaths of Lady Rosebery and Mrs. Peel were mourned not only by a large social circle, but by the political friends of Mr. Gladstone's Foreign Secretary and of the Speaker.

Among others, remarkable for various reasons, who have departed, may be mentioned Lord Magheramorne, ex-Chairman of the Metropolitan Board ; Lord Rosslyn, a writer of graceful verse ; Mr. Craig Sellar, an able and upright member of Parliament ; his brother, Professor Sellar, a fine classical scholar ; Sir Richard Burton, the traveller and Orientalist ; Professor Thorold Rogers, an intemperate politician, but the author of some useful works on political economy ; Mr. Baxter, formerly a member of Mr. Gladstone's Government ; Mr. Nasmyth, the inventor of the steam-hammer ; Mr. Christopher Talbot, the "Father" of the House of Commons ; Mr. Biggar, one of Mr. Parnell's earliest allies ; Sir George Burns, of the Cunard Company ; Mr. Boucicault, actor and dramatist ; Sir Edgar Boehm, the sculptor ; Sir Louis Mallet, the economist ; Mr. Herbert and Mr. Cope, both retired Academicians ; Dr. Matthews Duncan, an eminent medical specialist ; Mr. George Hooper, the biographer of Wellington ; Mr. Charles Gibbon, the novelist ; and Mr. Mudie, founder of the well-known circulating library.

Abroad the deaths were announced—in Austria, of Count Andrassy, formerly Foreign Minister of the Monarchy, and of Count Karolyi, lately Ambassador in London ; in Germany, of Dr. Döllinger and Professor Delitsch, both great scholars and theologians, though of very different schools, and of Dr. Schliemann, the archæologist ; in France, of the veteran author, M. Alphonse Karr, of M. Octave Feuillet, a prolific and graceful romancist, of M. Chatrian, the literary yoke-fellow of M. Erckmann, with whom he had lately been at bitter feud, of M. Gayarre, the opera-singer, and of Mlle. Samary, the actress ; in Switzerland, of General Ochsenbein, who put down the revolt of the Sonderbund ; in China, of the Marquis Tseng, well known in Europe as an intelligent and courteous diplomatist ; and in the United States, of Sitting Bull, the famous Indian chief.

## 1891

A GENERAL feeling of restlessness and uncertainty, rather than any decisive events or definite changes in the political and social world, is the most conspicuous characteristic of the year 1891. At home the shadow of the approaching appeal to the constituencies has fallen over public affairs, and given an electioneering character to all the acts and utterances of public men. The schism in the Irish Home Rule camp, which was completed before the close of 1890, continues, in spite of the death of Mr. Parnell and the repeated defeats, till the record was broken at Waterford, of Parnellite candidates. The Gladstonians, for this and other reasons, have devoted an increasing share of attention to other subjects, and have especially begun to pay court to the rural voters.

The "multifarious programme" adopted by the party at Newcastle-on-Tyne indicates the desire of Mr. Schnadhorst and other tacticians not to present a simple issue to the electorate at the general election, but a bundle of promises, which, if successful in winning a majority, will, nevertheless, place power unconditionally in Mr. Gladstone's hands. Mr. Gladstone himself remains as infatuated as ever with his dream of Home Rule, which he refuses to define, and, perhaps, has not yet made clear even to his own mind. Though Sir William Harcourt is, obviously, not in love with that policy, his energy as a fighting politician and his robust platform oratory have enabled him to distance all competitors for the succession to the leadership. Mr. Morley has fallen into the background ; Mr. Fowler has not come to the front ; Sir George Trevelyan has almost sunk out of sight ; and Mr. Labouchere has not persuaded the public to take him seriously.

On the Unionist side, while the loss of Mr. W. H. Smith has been universally deplored, Mr. Balfour's appointment as his successor has been cordially welcomed by both sections of the party, and was, indeed, designated beforehand by public opinion. Lord Randolph Churchill has prudently effaced himself during the greater part of the year by his absence in South Africa. The subsidiary changes necessitated by the death, not only of Mr. Smith, but of Mr. Raikes, have, on the whole, given satisfaction. Mr. Jackson had worked as Financial Secretary to the Treasury in harmony with Mr. Balfour both in the measures for meeting distress and in the development of public works in Ireland, and is likely to make an efficient and clear-sighted Chief Secretary, while Sir John Gorst, who has succeeded him in his former office, is a man of undoubted, if somewhat undisciplined, ability. Sir James Fergusson took Mr. Raikes's place at the Post Office, and Mr. James W. Lowther was then made Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. George Curzon soon afterwards becoming Under-Secretary for India.

In other respects the constitution of the Ministry has been unchanged. The alliance between the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists has borne the test of time, and there is now no reason to believe that Lord Hartington's removal to the Upper House will exercise any dissolvent effect. Mr. Chamberlain has lately stated more clearly than ever the impossibility that Liberals who care for the preservation of the Empire and the maintenance of law should co-operate with the Gladstonians, including, as they do, an English Nihilist faction as well as the Irish Home Rulers. Moreover, Lord Salisbury's Government have done much more in the direction of reform than Mr. Gladstone had even promised six years ago when he suddenly veered round to Home Rule. The administration of the country has been conducted with brilliant and steady success in diplomacy, in finance, and in the principal departments of State.

It is, nevertheless, true that, by the action of forces which always tell against a party in power and by the unscrupulous use of promises on the part of the Opposition, several bye-elections have been won by the Gladstonians, mostly in country districts. The greater number of vacancies occurred, not only positively, but relatively, on the Unionist side. The two seats for the City of London were retained without a contest by the Conservatives, as well as those for Cambridge University, where

Professor Jebb was chosen as successor to Mr. Raikes, for Leeds, and for the Chichester Division. Mr. Victor Cavendish was unopposed when coming forward in place of his father, Lord Edward, for West Derbyshire. In Aston Manor, in the Strand Division, and in Lewisham, Gladstonian attacks were repelled by overwhelming majorities, and Unionist seats were also held, though in some cases by greatly diminished majorities, in East and South Dorsetshire, in Mid Oxfordshire, in Whitehaven, in North-East Manchester, and in Buteshire. The Gladstonians held Northampton, North Bucks, Paisley, and Walsall, while they wrested Hartlepool, the Harborough, the Stowmarket, the Wisbech, and the South Molton Divisions from the Unionists.

In Ireland the struggle has been mostly between Parnellites and anti-Parnellites, the latter defeating the former decisively after obstinate fighting in North Sligo, Carlow, and Cork, but being, in turn, defeated, not less decisively, in Waterford. An anti-Parnellite was returned unopposed in North Kilkenny. Neither of the Separatist factions ventured to contest the Conservative seat for South Armagh.

At the beginning of the year the Gladstonians were still dismayed and disconcerted by the split among their Irish allies, so much so that their complaints against the Government were dropped without apology and practically were never revived. No more was heard of the threatened famine and hardly more of the iniquities of the magistrates at Tipperary and elsewhere. Sir William Harcourt wrote to express his preference in these circumstances for his own fireside over the platform, and at the same time to point out that Home Rule could only be conceded to a practically unanimous Irish demand, within limits acceptable to Englishmen. These conditions have not been at any time fulfilled during the year, though the language of the Opposition, if not their real sentiments, has more than once changed.

The labour question was no less prominent than in the previous year, but the schism between the trade unionists of the new and the old schools on the demand for a compulsory eight hours' day and other points continued and was widened, and several threatening strikes were compromised or collapsed. Among these may be mentioned the Scotch railway strike, which was at its height a year ago, the Cardiff dock and shipping strike, and the London omnibus strike. But the value of the labour vote at pending future elections was hardly diminished

by these vicissitudes. The Opposition, notwithstanding the objections of Mr. Morley and a few others to a compulsory limitation of working hours, held themselves out to be the only friends of the working man, while the Government found it desirable to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the labour question, of which Lord Hartington became the chairman, and which, after some months' work, has dealt with a comparatively small part of a vast and complex subject. The edge was somewhat taken off the bitterness of the controversy as it became clear that the activity of trade was on the decline.

The May-day demonstrations in this country were of no importance, and the obvious desire of Ministers and of Parliament to do whatever was possible to assist the labouring classes was not without effect. The abolition of school fees, the amendment of the Factory Acts, and the attempts to multiply allotments and small holdings were evidence of this spirit, which was further shown in Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, as to the practicability of which, however, there was much difference of opinion, for securing State-aided pensions to workmen in old age. The Gladstonians at once began to bid higher, though of course only in promises. While the Irish faction fight was at its height they occupied themselves more with the labour question than with Ireland, and were led by their success in some county constituencies to set about cultivating the rural voter, of whom little notice had been previously taken.

So matters stood at the end of the session, though, when the National Liberal Federation met in October, the situation had again been modified, for the priests had defeated Mr. Parnell's candidates everywhere in Ireland, and it was evident that the most serious danger to Mr. Gladstone's new allies was that of being suspected of a design to conspire with English politicians in postponing or minimising Home Rule. Mr. Parnell's death, too, operated in the same direction.

During the session, Mr. Gladstone, who completed his eighty-second year on the 29th of December, had exhibited much energy from time to time, but had taken a less systematic part in public affairs than had been his custom, declining, for instance, to defend in detail the vehement censures he had passed in a speech at Hastings on Mr. Goschen's finance. His health had temporarily broken down in the summer owing to an attack of influenza, then making painful havoc in the House of Commons,

and his recovery was delayed by the shock of his eldest son's death. He returned, however, to the fight on the occasion of the Newcastle meeting of the National Liberal Federation, having just before gone up to Perthshire to speak at the jubilee of Glenalmond College, as the survivor of the founders.

At Newcastle a wonderful programme, semi-officially described by Sir William Harcourt as "multifarious," was drawn up and carried through without any attempt at or opportunity for real discussion. Mr. Gladstone was compelled to make a similar mosaic of his speech, though he placed Home Rule in the front rank both from personal bias and from a conviction that otherwise his Irish allies could not be retained. The disestablishment party got a promise of an instalment of their policy in Wales and in Scotland ; parish councils, small holdings and allotments, supplied by public aid, were to make the rural voters happy and to cover the derelict fields with "golden grain" ; the House of Lords was to be mended or ended, preferably the latter ; and the House of Commons to be reorganised on the basis of "one man one vote" and a short residential period for registration. Land law reform, with taxation of ground-rents, free sale of land, with compensation to tenants, powers to local authorities to buy and sell land, popular veto on the liquor traffic, international arbitration, housing of the working classes, extension of the Factory Acts—these were only some of the remaining projects embraced in the bill of fare at Newcastle. Mr. Gladstone added a gratuitous intimation, following Mr. Morley's lead, that he was in favour of withdrawing our forces from Egypt, and this—though a sort of minimising explanation was afterwards given, not by Mr. Gladstone himself—was caught up by the French Press, and raised the hopes of the old Turkish party at Cairo.

Hardly had the Newcastle meeting broken up, when Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Parnell died on the same day. The former was deeply and universally lamented, but, great as his loss was, it was not wholly a surprise, and there could hardly be a doubt as to his successor. Mr. Balfour's claims to the leadership whenever it became vacant had been recognised as high when Mr. Smith's retirement had been talked about more than twelve months earlier, but they had been strengthened in the interval by the success of his Irish administration and by the remarkable development of his Parliamentary capacity and character.

Notable as were the pretensions and admirable the services of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had declined the leadership in 1887, not to dwell on those of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who had taken the same course in 1886, there was no one to compare with Mr. Balfour as impressing the imagination of the English people and commanding the confidence of the whole of the Unionist party. The only point of doubt had been whether or not Mr. Balfour could be spared from the Irish Office, but the tranquillisation of Ireland had gone so far that this doubt was removed before the vacancy in the leadership occurred.

The measures adopted to cope with the distress caused by the failure of the potato crop in some districts, which proved to be grossly exaggerated, were received with more signs of gratitude and confidence than had been shown by the Irish masses to the British Government for many a day, and the patience with which the Lord Lieutenant and Mr. Balfour, ably assisted by Mr. Jackson, the Secretary to the Treasury, conducted the investigation into the light railways' schemes, as well as the administration of the relief system, public and private, at length overcame prejudice and elicited a becoming response. In the West a cordial welcome was given to Lady Zetland and Miss Balfour in recognition of the good work done by them in the distribution of clothing in the distressed districts, and in their co-operation in the appeal made for public help by the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary.

Moreover, it soon became apparent that the conspiracy to defy the law and to constrain individual liberty, which Mr. Parnell and Mr. Davitt had set on foot twelve years before, was rapidly breaking up. The majority of the tenants who had been induced to enter into the Plan of Campaign came to terms with their landlords; "New Tipperary" was deserted and ultimately sold up; the endeavour to make out in the law Courts that the magistrates and police had acted harshly and illegally in the riots of 1890, though supported by Mr. Morley's testimony, wholly failed; boycotting and agrarian crime dwindled, and before the autumn Mr. Balfour was able to announce that the more stringent clauses of the Crimes Act had been withdrawn except in Clare and in one or two isolated districts elsewhere.

The firm administration of the law was aided by the state of the finances of the party of disorder. After the rupture between

Mr. Parnell and the majority of his faction, the American subsidies were stopped, and neither Mr. Parnell nor Mr. McCarthy, the joint trustees of the "Paris fund," would allow the handling of this money to pass into a rival's hands. When Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien, who had fled from trial and forfeited their bail, returned from America to France, without any hope of pecuniary aid, it seemed doubtful whether they would side with the Parnellites or the anti-Parnellites. Negotiations were opened at Boulogne, in which, so far as can be judged from later recriminations and disclosures, each party tried to hoodwink the other, while both strove to gull the Gladstonians, and all combined to throw dust in the eyes of the British public. No compromise was found possible, Mr. Parnell standing out for a pledge from Mr. Gladstone to make the Irish Parliament really independent, while Mr. McCarthy was satisfied with assurances that the powers of that Parliament under the Bill of 1886 would be extended to the control of the police and the settlement of the land question.

Peace being thus found impossible, or their minds not being made up, Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien retired to the safe seclusion of a gaol, while the priests on the one side, backed by Mr. Healy's powers of scurrilous invective, and Mr. Parnell on the other, battled obstinately for supremacy, in the Press and on the platform. The latter steadily lost ground ; he was beaten in North Sligo and in Carlow, even more decisively than he had been in Kilkenny, and when Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien were released in July they had no difficulty in determining which was the winning cause. They declared, at first temperately, but soon with violent charges and counter-charges, against Mr. Parnell, whom Mr. Healy had already accused in the new clerical organ of peculation and fraud.

The next blow was the defection of the *Freeman's Journal*, decided, according to the statement of the principal proprietor, by Mr. Parnell's marriage with Mrs. O'Shea. The effects of the split were felt in the United States not less than in Ireland. All told in favour of the restoration of order, in spite of the frantic attempts of Mr. Dillon to stir up the dying fires of faction and terrorism and to defeat the operation of the Land Purchase Act.

In this position of affairs the unexpected death of Mr. Parnell occurred, owing to a chill received during his campaigning in

Ireland, and the Gladstonians were for a moment cheered by the hope that the "union of hearts" would be patched up till the general election, and that they would have a "free hand" in dealing with Home Rule. But passion was too strong for prudence; Parnellite mobs threatened and even used violence against anti-Parnellite leaders; the priests threw themselves into the struggle and exerted all their powers of "spiritual coercion"; a desperate battle was fought in Cork, where Mr. Redmond stood for Mr. Parnell's seat and was badly beaten, while Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien were only saved from the rage of their fellow-patriots by the activity of the police. A similar conflict in Waterford followed the death of Mr. Richard Power, Mr. Davitt, after he had been roughly assaulted, consenting to stand against Mr. Redmond. After an embittered conflict, the decision of Cork was reversed, Mr. Redmond defeating Mr. Davitt by a majority of 546 on a poll of about 3000. In these circumstances the Gladstonians found it equally difficult to drop their Home Rule policy or to defend it.

The nomination of Mr. Balfour as the Ministerial leader in the Lower House was cordially welcomed by all sections of the Unionists, and a good deal of activity was at once infused into the campaign. There were some indications of discontent among the Conservatives, to whom the Free Education Act had been disturbing, if not repellent, and who did not look with much favour on the principal measure promised for next year—the extension of local government in Ireland. At the close of last session Mr. Balfour had repeated the statement, already made by all the leading Unionists, that the Government were bound by sacred pledges to deal with the latter question, and to this opinion he adhered, as did all his colleagues, when he succeeded to the leadership. Though the boon of the abolition of school fees had not apparently moved the gratitude of the electors generally, the Conservatives had a good record to show, if not one which could be compared with the reckless promises of the Newcastle programme.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Goschen, and other Ministers did their duty manfully in placing the facts of the situation before the constituencies, and they were energetically seconded by the Liberal Unionist leaders. In every part of England, in Wales, and in Scotland the controversy was vigorously carried on. There were many points which seemed

to be established in favour of the Unionists. At a Liberal Unionist gathering at Manchester, the Duke of Argyll showed that Mr. Gladstone was still pledged to all the worst features of the Home Rule Bill of 1886, with further indefinite concessions to the demands of his Irish allies. The latter, since Mr. Parnell's disappearance from the scene, had become more distinctly than ever a clerical faction, employing for their own objects the instruments and methods of revolution. This fact was not without effect in Scotland, where the adoption of the disestablishment policy by the Gladstonians had shaken many Liberals, who had thought that Home Rule might be feasible, as was shown by the appeal made to Mr. Childers, on the announcement, universally regretted, of his retirement from public life, not to create an immediate vacancy in South Edinburgh. The bearing of the "one man one vote" principle on the gross over-representation of Ireland and Wales was another point pressed home by the Unionists.

The Home Rulers were not less active. Sir William Harcourt stumped the country perseveringly, and Mr. Morley, Mr. Fowler, Lord Spencer, and Sir George Trevelyan did their best, in a somewhat lugubrious fashion, to imitate his boisterous and not unamusing performances. A Conservative meeting of delegates at Birmingham, where Mr. Chamberlain appeared on the same platform with Lord Salisbury, and declared that he neither desired nor hoped for reunion with the Gladstonians while they continued to pursue their revolutionary course, furnished Sir William Harcourt and the other Opposition orators with material for invective and sarcasm. Of these, part was directed against what was audaciously styled Mr. Chamberlain's apostasy, and part against the lack of discipline among the Conservative delegates, who, in spite of the avowed intentions of the Ministry, had expressed disapproval of the Irish Local Government Bill, and had passed a futile resolution aimed against Free Trade.

It was easier to dilate on these topics than to come to close quarters with the Home Rule question at a time when minimising assurances, whether honestly given or not, could be used against the clerical candidates in Ireland. Though Mr. Redmond had been badly beaten in Cork, Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien had failed to conciliate the semi-Fenian masses, and even Mr. Davitt, in the subsequent contest at Waterford, was unable to win over the mob. It was almost as risky for the Gladstonians to attempt

to show how the Newcastle promises were to be performed. Unfortunately, the rural electors seemed too ready to swallow promises wholesale without any explanation whatever, and it was thought safe to allow Mr. Gladstone to address a carefully-selected gathering of so-called delegates from the agricultural labourers at the Holborn Restaurant in a speech reiterating vague pledges, and endeavouring to persuade the rural voters that their cause was identical with that of the Irish disruptionists.

A curious episode in these controversies was the attack on Mr. Goschen's finance, initiated by Sir William Harcourt, and repeated by some Gladstonian members, who, having made the mistake of treating that critic seriously, exposed themselves and him to a severe and well-deserved castigation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The public, remembering Mr. Gladstone's earlier record as a financier, lamented the discredit inflicted upon him by these aberrations of his followers; but he hastened to show that he had himself descended the same steep slope. On his journey to London to denounce to the delegates at the Holborn Restaurant the common law of conspiracy, the evils of which, like those of the Septennial Act, he had never discovered during all the years he was in power, Mr. Gladstone went out of his way to denounce at a railway station a scheme of currency reform laid before the business community by Mr. Goschen as a "quack measure," though he had himself invited Mr. Goschen to take up the subject as one lying outside party politics.

Early in the year Mr. Goschen, in a speech at Leeds, had drawn attention to the dangers revealed by the Baring crisis, and had appealed, not wholly in vain, to the joint-stock banks to co-operate in keeping larger reserves. Though further troubles in the city had been averted, it was felt that to secure a larger and more permanent metallic reserve as well as to provide against irregular suspensions of the Bank Charter Act of 1844 would be highly expedient, and Mr. Goschen brought forward tentatively an ingenious scheme, depending on the substitution of one-pound notes for a part of the circulating gold to be added to the reserve. There are grave practical difficulties in the way of this plan, and at present it has met with little popular support, but it ought not to be dismissed by any responsible statesman as a "quack measure."

The same partisan spirit which renders the financial criticism

of the Opposition utterly worthless reduces their influence almost to nothing on such important national questions as those of the organisation and efficiency of the national defences, discussed during the autumn in our own columns, and in the letters of "Vetus" and Mr. Arnold Forster. Public opinion, however, is moving steadily in the direction of a demand that the reconstitution of the War Office shall be no longer delayed.

The transfer of the charge for fees in elementary schools from the parents to the tax-payers, which has come into effect since September, has not made the ratepaying classes more inclined to tolerate the increasing burdens of local government, often administered by faddists and fanatics without the smallest regard for economy.

The election for the London School Board in November resulted in the signal defeat of the "Progressists," who are still more numerous and more mischievous upon the London County Council, whence they may be expelled to much greater practical advantage at the approaching renewal of that perverse and disappointing body. Lord Rosebery, who has taken no part in public life since his wife's death, unless in the publication of his striking little book on Pitt, has retired from the Chairmanship, and Sir John Lubbock will follow his example on the dissolution of the present Council. Lord Lingen and other members of ability and experience have been snubbed and set at nought by a majority of obstinate and wrong-headed busybodies, who have worried tried officials like Captain Shaw out of their service, have put a stop to street improvements in the pursuit of political ends outside the scope of their functions, have added seriously to the burdens of the ratepayers, and have embarked upon the policy of buying up the tramways, with the prospect of even more serious financial consequences in the immediate future.

In his speech at the Guildhall on Lord Mayor's Day the Prime Minister, while emphatically repudiating the "scuttling" policy in Egypt, suggested at Newcastle by Mr. Gladstone, expressed his belief that the calamity of a general war in Europe had become less probable since commercial conflicts were taking the place of military strife. This confidence, which was in harmony with the public utterances of M. Ribot, General Caprivi, M. de Giers, Count Kalnoky, and the Marquis di Rudini, was borne out by events, in spite of a considerable

amount of friction from time to time and of provocative moves and countermoves.

No serious question had arisen between France and Germany or between Austria and Russia, but the old causes of jealousy were not removed. The fall of Signor Crispi, who had overestimated the personal security given him by the fresh majority returned to support him in the Italian Parliament, excited hopes in France, which were dashed by the discovery that the Marquis di Rudini was resolved to adhere to the Triple Alliance and to maintain substantially the same attitude as his predecessor. The protectionist policy which the French were already pursuing, and which was evidenced by the denunciation of existing commercial treaties, was thus stimulated, nor were the Italians reluctant to retaliate.

The German Emperor had sometimes shown a lack of discretion in his language. His breach with Prince Bismarck had been widened by the undisguised hostility of the latter, who was elected to the Reichstag for Geestemünde in March, just after the death of Count Moltke, though he has not since returned to active Parliamentary life, while somewhat earlier Count Waldersee resigned his position as Chief of the Staff. Nevertheless, the Government was in no way shaken, and German opinion was gratified by the formal signature in June of treaties with Austria-Hungary and Italy, renewing the Triple Alliance for a further term of six years. This renewal was welcomed with equal cordiality in the other countries concerned, and was hailed here as a fresh security for peace on the basis of the *status quo*.

Soon afterwards the Emperor paid a public visit to the Queen, his grandmother, and the brilliant reception he met with, both at the Court and in the City, caused some restlessness in France and Russia. It was arranged that the French fleet should be sent to Cronstadt, where the Russian Government, and the Czar himself, foregoing all antipathies to Republicanism, played the host in the most splendid manner to the representatives of France. Though the same fleet was subsequently received with high honour at Portsmouth, and there reviewed by the Queen, the French leaped instantly to the conclusion that the European balance of power had been suddenly altered in their favour, and that an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia had been actually concluded. This came to be

doubted later on, when M. de Giers went out of his way to meet the Italian Prime Minister at Monza, and, subsequently, it became clear that the Czar was not disposed to pick a quarrel with the Triple Alliance.

In spite of occasional lapses from prudence on the part of the German Emperor, the policy of the German Government was sagacious and conciliatory, though the objects of the Triple Alliance were steadily kept in view. No notice was taken of the absurd stir in Paris over the visit of the Empress Frederick, and again over the production of Wagner's *Lohengrin*, when the French Ministry behaved with more firmness in defying mob dictation than had been previously shown in the analogous case of *Thermidor*. In the autumn the German Government voluntarily relaxed the stringent rules as to passports which obstructed communication between France and Alsace-Lorraine.

Meanwhile, however, the Triple Alliance was consolidated. The German Emperor's visit to England, preceded by one to Holland, was followed by a meeting with the Emperor of Austria, and by his presence, together with the King of Saxony, at the manœuvres of the Bavarian troops near Munich. At Fiume the Emperor Francis Joseph was welcomed on board the flagship of the British Mediterranean Squadron, which afterwards visited Venice to do similar honour to King Humbert. Other international courtesies were exchanged. The heir to the Italian throne was the Queen's guest in the summer ; the King of Roumania was entertained at the Italian and German Courts, and the King of Servia, after visiting the Czar, was welcomed by the Emperor of Austria at Ischl.

The Russo-French friendship was less perseveringly followed up, at least on the part of the Czar, who was, perhaps, afraid to administer too powerful stimulants to over-exitable friends, and was also occupied at home with financial difficulties and an alarm of famine. But while the enthusiasm of the French was still fervid, advantage was taken of it to secure the placing of a new Russian loan, which was almost wholly subscribed for in Paris, the Berlin bankers having withdrawn from the affair. The political and fiscal tactics of the French Government hastened the completion of the new system of commercial treaties, by which it was sought to strengthen and extend the operations of the Triple Alliance.

Prince Bismarck's policy of strict protection was abandoned,

and treaties were framed on the basis of equivalent tariff reductions, which were submitted simultaneously to the Parliaments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; while similar arrangements were concluded by the three Powers with Belgium and Switzerland, were being negotiated with Servia, Bulgaria, and Roumania, and were at least contemplated with Holland and Spain. The object was not, indeed, to establish a Zollverein for Central Europe, but to approximate to it, and to exclude from the new commercial system the States outside the Triple Alliance, especially France, which had, in pursuance of her protectionist policy, denounced the treaties regulating her relations with other countries. The right of the Central Powers to take this course could not be denied even in France, and the discussion of the treaties produced on the whole a tranquillising effect. Prince Bismarck did not, as some had anticipated, appear in the Reichstag to condemn this departure from his own system. General Caprivi, Count Kalnoky, and the Marquis di Rudini were all careful to use reassuring language. A scare got up, for Stock Exchange purposes, at Vienna, on the false pretence that the Emperor Francis Joseph had spoken of war as hardly to be avoided, inflicted serious losses on individuals, but was quickly allayed by assurances given in the Delegations which were regarded as satisfactory by the public.

France has been undisturbed internally, though signs of future troubles are not wanting. The Senatorial elections at the beginning of the year struck the decisive blow at the remnant of the Boulangist faction, which finally expired with the unfortunate would-be dictator himself when he killed himself on his mistress's grave near Brussels. The Royalists, now led by Count d'Haussonville, were reduced to insignificance, and the defection of the higher clergy, for which Cardinal Lavigerie had given the signal, made progress till it was checked, towards the end of the year, by a renewed Radical campaign on the Church and State question. This was a part of the price paid by M. de Freycinet's Government for practical success accompanied by rash promises. The vigorous administration of M. Constans had crushed Socialist terrorism and mob violence, as well as political conspiracy. The May-day demonstrations were kept under stern control, and at Fournies the soldiery were forced to shed blood.

Though the autumn manœuvres strengthened the Government

by showing what M. de Freycinet had done for the army ; though general admiration was expressed in England as well as in Russia and Denmark for the fleet and sailors ; though M. Ribot's conduct of foreign affairs had avoided quarrels, yet maintained the national dignity ; though the country was dazzled by the condescension of the Czar ; though trade was fairly prosperous and financial demoralisation had been checked, the Radicals were still discontented. M. Constans was not forgiven for putting down mobs and removing Marat's statue ; and, on the meeting of the Chambers, M. Clémenceau attacked the Government for shrinking from a truly Republican policy, and, if the Reactionaries had not refrained from voting, would have turned out M. de Freycinet's Ministry.

The prosecution of the Archbishop of Aix, who had published censures on the Government for prohibiting French pilgrimages to Rome—a step necessitated by the violence of the Italian populace, who had attacked pilgrims charged, justly or unjustly, with insulting Victor Emmanuel's tomb in the Pantheon—was regarded as a concession to the Radicals, and this belief was confirmed by M. de Freycinet's attitude in the Church and State debate. The disturbances at Rome were a symptom of the Italian recoil from France, which was not lessened by M. Crispi's retirement.

Italy, too, had her May-day labour troubles, with conflicts between the troops and the mob at Rome and Florence, while a disgraceful street battle in Bologna was caused by the reckless rudeness of some officers and the popular jealousy of the army. The financial difficulty remains unsettled ; the military and naval expenditure is immense, and Italy is excluded from French markets.

A similar difficulty on a still grander scale exists in Russia, but the details are carefully concealed and immediate pressure is staved off by external loans. The persecution of the Jews was not relaxed, the Czar refusing even to receive a respectful protest adopted in accordance with resolutions passed at the Mansion-house meeting. The Russification of Finland is being steadily advanced. The failure of the crops over a large part of the Empire produced a famine and an Imperial decree restricting the importation of grain.

The attacks of the German Press on Russia were renewed just before the issue of the loan, and the relations between the

Czar and the Emperor William were frigid, if not strained. Prince Bismarck's disparagement of the Triple Alliance and his championship of Russia tended rather to drive his master in the opposite direction, for a Sovereign convinced that "the voice of the King" is "the highest law" was unlikely to succumb to the dictation of an ex-Minister without a party. Public confidence in General Caprivi's capacity and prudence was confirmed by events and by his sagacious and pacific speeches in the Reichstag and in the country, and his services have been lately recognised by his elevation to the rank of count. Though the insurance law and kindred measures had not succeeded in shattering the Socialist party, Germany escaped better than her neighbours from the labour troubles, but trade was dull and workmen were disquieted and dissatisfied, partly in consequence of the M'Kinley tariff, both in the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires.

The "Home Rule" system in the Cisleithan and Transleithan kingdoms was a seed-bed of continual strife. In Bohemia especially the "Young Czechs," who are pressing for complete autonomy and the suppression of the German elements, have got the upper hand of the more moderate "Old Czechs," just as Mr. Parnell's faction supplanted Mr. Butt's. Count Taaffe, however, in spite of the shifting of parties in the new Reichsrath and of his failing health, remains at the head of affairs in Austria, and has strengthened the German element in his Cabinet. Hungarian politics have been unsettled since the retirement of M. Tisza. The attitude of the high Magyar Nationalists, under Count Apponyi, has forced the Szapary Government to appeal to the electors. The Imperial Foreign Office is still, as it has been for more than ten years, in the charge of Count Kalnoky.

The Iberian Peninsula has suffered from many causes of uneasiness, and the revolutionary spirit, though for the present kept under, is evidently at work. In Portugal there were abortive attempts at a military revolt at Oporto. An excessive issue of a depreciated paper currency and other disquieting symptoms justified the alarm which has brought down the price of Portuguese securities. The Ministry formed in 1890 to carry the Anglo-Portuguese Convention shrank from the task at the critical moment, and was succeeded in May by another Coalition Cabinet under General Chrysostomo, which, yielding to the pressure of

events, was able to settle the dispute, and has on the whole contrived to avoid further conflicts with England in Africa.

In Spain the Government, guided by the sagacity and firmness of the Queen Regent and the political experience of Señor Canovas del Castillo, has steered its way through many difficulties. The Cortes which was elected at the beginning of the year is controlled by a large Conservative majority, the supporters of Señor Canovas outnumbering those of Señor Sagasta by three to one. The financial question in Spain has become more serious since the disastrous floods which in the autumn swept away the crops in several provinces, as they did also in South France and North Italy, and caused great destruction of life. Parisian speculators and investors have been crippled by the decline in Spanish and Portuguese stocks, which are largely held in France. The Low Countries, once among the jewels of the Spanish crown, are now involved in the industrial and commercial movement of Central Europe. In Belgium the labour question and the Socialist propaganda have stirred up the working classes to demand a revision of the Constitution. The commercial treaties with Germany, Austria, and Italy will, it is hoped, exercise a tranquillising influence by opening new markets for Belgian products.

In Holland, now under a regency, these questions, though not to be ignored, are less urgent. There has been a change of Ministry with no remarkable results. It is much debated whether the country can keep aloof from the fiscal federation of Central Europe.

In the Scandinavian kingdoms the most important event was the demand of the majority in the Storthing that Home Rule should be extended so as to allow Norway to pursue an independent foreign policy, though in all other respects the country has been free from the control of its greater partner, Sweden. A new Ministry was formed on M. Stang's defeat by M. Steen. The elections in November showed that the anti-Unionists were overwhelmingly strong in the constituencies, a fact worth noting in connection with Mr. Gladstone's assurances that Irish Home Rule would put an end to Separatist agitation. Switzerland celebrated in August the six-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the original *Bund*.

The political development of the Balkan States has neither advanced nor receded. Like the smaller countries of the West,

they are subjected to the powerful attractive force of the new commercial union that has grown out of the Triple Alliance, in spite of the influence that still remains to Russia. In Servia the Regency forcibly expelled Queen Natalie and concluded a commercial treaty with the Montenegrins, striving, in alarm for the export trade, chiefly in pigs, to conciliate Austria-Hungary without alienating the Czar. The young King was allowed to visit his father in Switzerland.

In Bulgaria Prince Ferdinand's position has not yet been made regular. M. Stambouloff's authority remains supreme, but his high-handed methods of rule and his rancour against opponents have often darkened his reputation and endangered his power. The murder of M. Beltcheff, one of M. Stambouloff's colleagues, by mistake, it was inferred, for his chief, who was walking with him at the time, was made the pretext for a campaign against persons suspected of disloyalty. At a later date M. Stambouloff, irritated by malicious criticism, expelled a French journalist, M. Chadourne, in contravention, it is said, of the Capitulations, and thus drew upon Bulgaria the wrath of France, the French Agent being at once withdrawn from Sofia. Not quite consistently M. Ribot, at the same time, appealed to the Porte as the paramount Power. Though this was probably done to please the Czar, it is doubtful whether it has met with approval in Russia, where the wisdom of direct interference in Bulgaria has for some time been questioned. The Bulgarian Legislature have voted a grant to Prince Alexander, their former ruler and leader in the struggle against Servia, who, as "Count Hartenau," is serving in the Austrian army.

Roumanian politics have been troubled by the disintegration of parties and the instability of Ministries, and by the rumoured engagement of Prince Ferdinand, King Charles's heir, to Mlle. Vacaresco, one of the Queen's maids of honour, which was broken off on political grounds. The Queen herself, well known in literature as "Carmen Sylva," has lately been in bad health.

In Greece the Delyannis Cabinet, which came into power after the defeat of M. Tricoupis at the polls, seems firmly seated in office. The Greeks have unhappily followed the Russian example by attacks upon the Jews, especially in the Ionian Islands.

The Porte has not responded warmly to the French suggestion that pressure should be brought to bear upon Bulgaria,

though in some other matters the Turkish Government has shown a disposition to escape from German and English influence, and to follow fitfully the lead of Russia and France. The dismissal of Kiamil Pasha, the Grand Vizier, and the question of the right of Russian vessels of the so-called Volunteer Fleet to pass through the Dardanelles, which, disputed at first, was finally conceded, would have made less stir if the Sultan had not exhibited some coolness towards the British Ambassador, a slight and passing symptom, which was used to give probability to the ridiculous story that England had seized Mitylene when merely a few sailors had landed for artillery and torpedo practice at Sigri.

In Egypt, as in Bulgaria, the Turks, while asserting claims that can neither be practically admitted nor theoretically denied, did not go far with their French and Russian prompters. The usual arguments in favour of the withdrawal of the British troops have been put forward in the French Press, and more cautiously by French statesmen, who, indeed, were only taking the hint from Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley; but no serious international question has been raised, and progress has gone on quietly and steadily in Egypt, in spite of difficulties created by the treaty rights of the other European Powers. Mr. Justice Scott's scheme of judicial reform having met with obstruction, the Khedive interfered to enforce its acceptance, and a compromise was finally adopted, securing the main points contended for by the English advisers of the Egyptian Government. A plan for the reorganisation of the police was also carried through by the influence of Mr. Justice Scott. Riaz Pasha's Ministry resigned and was succeeded by a Cabinet under Mustapha Pasha Fehmy, with Tigrane Pasha as Minister for Foreign Affairs. The "dervishes" again began to give trouble, and successful operations were undertaken against them by the Egyptian army under English officers, Tokar being taken and the sheikhs being reduced to submission. Information brought by Christian captives who have escaped from Khartoum points to the dissolution of the Mahdist despotism.

The Anglo-Portuguese Convention, substantially the same arrangement as that of which the Lisbon mob had procured the rejection last year, completes the division of Africa into "spheres of influence" assigned to the leading European Powers. Under the British protectorate, now formally established, the trade of

Zanzibar has made rapid progress. The British East Africa Company, deprived of the prospect of a Government grant in aid of the railway from Mombasa, declared that Uganda must be given up, to the ruin of missionary work and the benefit of the slave-traders ; but these results have been for the present averted by the liberality of private persons. The Company's forces have defeated the Uganda rebels. Germany has had more serious trouble to contend with on the coast opposite Zanzibar, and African dominion is no longer as much desired as it used to be at Berlin. Emin Pasha's intrusion into the British sphere of influence has been disavowed by his Government. In the Shiré highlands Mr. Johnston, the British Commissioner, has been waging war successfully against the slave trade. The attempts of the Portuguese to make their rule south of the Zambesi a reality have led as yet only to waste of money and life. The notion that English enterprise could be shut out, in defiance of the Convention, from access to the interior by the Pungwé river has apparently been abandoned. Attention has been drawn to the colonisation of Mashonaland by the British South Africa Company, under the energetic direction of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, now Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, by Lord Randolph Churchill's travels in that part of the world.

It is too soon to decide whether or not the resources of these new fields for English enterprise have been over-estimated, but Mr. Rhodes is as confident as ever. His visit to England in the spring and his conferences with Lord Salisbury were interpreted to mean that his "Afrikander" policy at the Cape was not inconsistent with large Imperialist views. The Cape Colony itself and the neighbouring Dutch republics have been undisturbed. The threatened raid of the Boers into Mashonaland was nipped in the bud. In Natal the concession of responsible government has been settled in principle, but has not yet been carried out. France on the west coast has met the same difficulties as Germany on the east coast ; her endeavours to connect her possessions in Senegal and Gambia with Algeria have been checked by the disasters that befell the expeditions under M. Crampel and M. Fourneau. The British traders of the coast complain that the French advances inland are injurious to our commercial prospects in that quarter.

In Asia the activity of Russia, pursuing political designs under cover of geographical exploration, has been a disturbing

element. Colonel Yanof, with a small military force, traversed the Pamirs, arresting Lieutenant Davison and turning back Captain Younghusband in districts lying, it is alleged, outside the Russian sphere of influence, and penetrated as far as Chitral. It is uncertain how far these movements affected the border tribes, who have been unusually restless. In Gilgit, beyond the Kashmir frontier, the attack of the tribesmen on Colonel Durand's force, which has been promptly and sharply chastised, may be plausibly connected, though doubtless indirectly, with Russian explorers.

No such cause can be assigned to the outbreak in the little protected State of Manipur, where Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, who had gone with a Goorkha escort to inquire into the deposition of the Maharajah by his brothers, was attacked, captured, and massacred with the Resident, Mr. Grimwood, and several officers and men. Mrs. Grimwood's pluck on the retreat and Lieutenant Grant's gallantry in defending a weak fort with a handful of men were the redeeming features in this wretched business, which was found on subsequent investigation to have been due to Mr. Quinton's rashness in planning the arrest of the leader of the revolt in Durbar, and to the unskilful handling of the troops by Colonel Skene. Two other officers have since been dismissed from the army for failure to do their duty in this crisis.

The restrictions placed on child marriage by the Age of Consent Act, passed early in the year, were opposed and denounced by a section of the Hindoo community. The license of invective indulged in by the vernacular Press on this and other questions compelled the Viceroy to order the prosecution of the *Bangabasi* for a series of libels on the Government. It was doubted whether the law applied to such offences, but the judges held that it did, and though the jury could not agree and the trial was postponed, the defendants thought it prudent to apologise for their misconduct and to promise amendment for the future, whereupon the proceedings were stayed. Some alarm was caused by the resolution condemning the opium revenue, which was carried by a snap vote in the House of Commons, but the feeling died out when it appeared that the Government had no notion of tampering with an essential factor in the financial system of India.

Our position in Upper Burmah now gives us a direct interest

in the internal state of China, which is also in contact with France in Tonquin, and with Russia on the northern border. The state of the Chinese Empire has been sufficiently disquieting. The authorities have been unable to prevent and punish outbreaks against foreigners in general, and missionaries and their converts in particular, fomented seemingly in some cases by officials, and stimulated by gross libels circulated among the masses. Diplomatic protests have been made, but the Powers have not agreed on any common line of action, and the situation has lately been complicated by reports of risings against the Government itself beyond the Great Wall.

Japan presents a remarkable contrast to its mighty neighbour. It has enjoyed peace even under the dissolvent influences of Western civilisation, with Parliamentary government and Ministerial crises. The murderous attack on the Czarewitch, who visited Japan after India and China, seemed at first to bear a political aspect, but was ascertained to be the individual act of a crazy fanatic. In the autumn a frightful earthquake, resulting in terrible loss of life and vast injury to property, wrecked several of the coast towns.

The New World has been even more unsettled than the Old. Chili has been rent asunder by a revolutionary struggle, a legacy from the Peruvian war, which brought the curse of militarism on the country. This gave the President Balmaceda the means of securing despotic power, which he used to expel a hostile majority from Congress and to pack a new one with his own creatures. The Congressional party, including the more respectable elements in Chilian society, revolted, and, with the aid of the larger part of the navy, engaged in a life and death struggle with the Dictator, having the nitrate region as their base of operations. The issue was long held to be doubtful ; Balmaceda controlled the main channels of news, and had the sympathetic support of the American Minister, Mr. Patrick Egan, of Land League fame ; but at length, after some interesting naval conflicts, the Balmacedists were defeated in a great battle near Valparaiso, the Congressional party at once assumed the government, and the Dictator, who had taken refuge in the Argentine Legation, escaped trial and punishment by shooting himself. An attack by the mob on some sailors from an American warship led to an angry controversy with the United States, which Mr. Blaine's spread-eagle policy and Mr. Egan's truculent diplomacy

blew into a flame, though it was rapidly allowed to subside when the New York and Ohio elections were over. There are still rumours of trouble, but the Chilian Government, of which Señor Jorge Montt has become the head, is apparently inclined to give reasonable satisfaction, and in the United States there is no desire for war.

The "tall talk" of President Harrison and Mr. Blaine has not forwarded the idea of a confederacy of American republics, under the hegemony of the United States, which had been favoured by the Pan-American Conference. That policy was also discouraged by the turmoil in Brazil, Uruguay, and the Argentine States.

In Brazil the first year of the Republic brought neither peace nor prosperity; reckless issues of paper money led to a financial crisis; the President, Marshal Fonseca, quarrelled with the Congress, and, copying Balmaceda, got rid of his opponents with the help of the army; but his dictatorship was challenged in several provinces, disintegration seemed inevitable, and the tendency has not been completely stayed by the counter-revolution, originating, as in Chili, with the navy, which has restored the Congress almost without striking a blow, and has put General Peixoto as President in Fonseca's place.

In the Argentine States the financial difficulties which were the chief cause of the Baring collapse have not been removed, and are not likely to be, so long as the politics of the Republic are agitated by revolutionary movements, sanguinary riots, and the conflicts of ambitious aspirants for supreme power.

The politics of the United States, foreign and domestic, have been modified by electioneering devices bearing upon the Presidential contest of 1892. Expenditure has been lavish, and the Treasury is not likely to be soon troubled again with the task of getting rid of a surplus. President Harrison and Mr. Blaine have cultivated the national vanity by their language towards other Powers, and at home the reaction against the high protective system seems to have spent much of its force, Mr. M'Kinley being elected Governor of Ohio, where he had lost his seat as Congressman twelve months before.

The Democrats, not content with standing on the anti-protection platform, have coquetted with the "free silver" cry, and, in spite of their defeat in Ohio, where their candidate supported "free silver," and their victory in New York, where

Mr. Cleveland's influence excluded that issue, the choice of Mr. Crisp as Speaker of the House of Representatives is held to indicate that they are still wavering. The Republican leaders firmly adhere to the "honest money" policy, which constitutes a more respectable claim to public support than all Mr. Blaine's despatches.

The lynching of the Italian members of a secret society in New Orleans, who, when charged with the murder of a police officer, had escaped, it was alleged, by the terrorising of the jury, raised a difficult question with Italy, the Government at Washington ultimately evading responsibility by pointing out the limitations of the Federal Constitution.

The Behring Sea controversy has been brought within the scope of arbitration by the abandonment of Mr. Blaine's most extravagant claims and the adoption of a *modus vivendi* pending the award, a result largely due to proceedings commenced in the Supreme Court at Washington by the owners of a Canadian sealing ship, which raised the question whether the laws regulating the seal-fishing had any foundation in international custom and obligations and had been constitutionally enacted. The relations between Canada and the United States were affected by this question, for the sealers arrested by the American cruisers were from British Columbia, and the fact did not tend to make the United States popular in the Dominion at the general election, when the Opposition stood on the ground of commercial union, and Sir John Macdonald appealed to the people on his national policy and allegiance to the British Crown. The result of the contest was that Ministers obtained a majority; though not a large one, but Sir John Macdonald soon afterwards died.

The Conservative Government received another severe shock in the disclosure of administrative corruption used for political purposes, in which Sir Hector Langevin, a member of the Cabinet, was implicated, and, though acquitted of personal malversation, was forced to resign. A similar scandal has come to light, implicating Mr. Mercier, the Radical and Ultramontane Premier of the Provincial Government of Quebec, who was dismissed by the Lieutenant-Governor after the adverse report of a Judicial Commission. Mr. Mercier's party are endeavouring to transfer the discussion from the question of their chief's guilt to that of the Lieutenant-Governor's constitutional power to dismiss

him, and are appealing openly to the Separatist element. Newfoundland, which had to yield to the pressure of the Imperial Parliament and to abandon hostile proceedings against the French fishermen till the result of the arbitration is made known, has picked a quarrel with Canada and entered upon a foolish war of tariffs.

The Federation question is still the most important in the Australasian colonies, though, as the Canadian example shows, the system does not get rid of all existing difficulties, and even breeds new ones of its own. A representative Convention held in Sydney adopted in April a Federal Constitution for "the Commonwealth of Australia," which at present awaits the ratification of the Legislatures of some of the colonies, and must subsequently be submitted for sanction to the Imperial Parliament. Progress has been somewhat retarded in this direction by the unsettled state of internal politics in the leading colonies, partly owing to the controversies arising out of the Federation question itself, but still more to the pressure of the labour question.

In New South Wales Sir Henry Parkes, after an appeal to the constituencies, which left him in a minority, was ejected from office by the alliance of an organised labour party in the Legislature with his protectionist opponents, and Mr. Dibbs has formed an avowedly protectionist Ministry in the only one of the greater colonies that could have been described as loyal to Free Trade. In Victoria the labour party received a check in the defeat of the shipping and dock strike, but the situation is one of unstable equilibrium, and a dissolution is at hand. In Queensland the trade unionists attempted armed coercion, and had to be put down by military force. All the Australasian colonies have suffered more or less in their credit, English investors having taken fright at the rapidity with which loans were raised, and, in part, expended, for political objects, nor has confidence been restored by the reckless projects of legislation attributed to the labour party.

Among the events of the year, outside the domain of politics, the most interesting to Englishmen was the engagement of the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, the eldest son of the Prince of Wales, to his cousin, the charming and popular daughter of the Duke of Teck and the Princess Mary of Cambridge. This was the more welcome because much anxiety, which happily soon

passed away, had been created by the serious illness of his brother, Prince George. Painful interest was excited by the accident which caused the loss of Prince Christian's eye. Earlier in the year a daughter had been born to the Duchess of Fife. The visit of the German Emperor in the summer has been already noticed in its political bearings, but, apart from such considerations, it undoubtedly served to draw closer the ties of amity and kinship between the English and German peoples.

In other respects the season was dull and uneventful, owing partly to the inclemency of the weather, partly to the depression in financial and commercial circles, and partly to the prevalence of the influenza. We fear it can hardly be doubted that our trade has met with a check, the effect of which is already perceptible in the revenue returns. The public health has been seriously affected by the cold and gloomy winter, the "blizzard" that visited us in March, the broken and unhealthy summer, and the changeable autumn, winding up with a Christmas of bitter frost and, for Londoners at least, of stifling fog. These conditions have also had an injurious effect on the prospects of agriculture, though to a less extent than was at one time feared. An unusual number of gales and storms have inflicted much damage, not only on the crops, but on shipping at home and abroad.

Changes in social rank were few, Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, Sir Francis Sandford, and Sir George Stephen became Lord Iveagh, Lord Sandford, and Lord Mount Stephen, while the widows of Mr. W. H. Smith and of Sir John A. Macdonald were made peeresses in their own right. Baronetcies were conferred on Sir Peter O'Brien, Chief Justice of Ireland, Sir James Fitz-james Stephen, Sir Richard Quain, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and others ; and Mr. Lidderdale, the Governor of the Bank of England, who had ably piloted the city through the Baring crisis, was called to the Privy Council. Sir Francis Jeune, Sir R. H. Collins, and Sir Robert Wright became Judges of the High Court, and Sir James Hannan was created a Lord of Appeal. The late Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. J. P. Bannerman Robertson, became Lord Justice-General. The Prime Minister had to appoint twice during the year to the Archbischoprie of York, Dr. Magee being first translated from Peterborough and afterwards Dr. Maclagan from Lichfield ; Dr. Creighton became Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Legge Bishop of Lichfield, and Dr.

Gott Bishop of Truro, while, on the translation of Dr. Bardsley to Carlisle, Archdeacon Stratton became Bishop of Sodor and Man. The foundation-stone of the Church House at Westminster was laid in June by the Duke of Connaught, and the Church Congress was held at Rhyl in October, but Church questions were little discussed.

At the Universities much interest was excited by the Cambridge movement for the abolition of Greek as a compulsory subject, on which academic opinion was divided, though the proposal was ultimately rejected in the Senate by a majority of nearly three to one. At Oxford Dean Liddell retired from the headship of Christ Church, and was succeeded by Dr. Paget. Three remarkable rectorial addresses were delivered to the students of the Scotch Universities—by Lord Dufferin at St. Andrews, Mr. Goschen at Glasgow, and Mr. Balfour at Edinburgh, and with these may be associated Mr. Gladstone's Glen-almond speech.

It may here be noted that in the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports Lord Granville was succeeded by Mr. W. H. Smith. After the death of Mr. Smith at Walmer Castle, it was bestowed on Lord Dufferin, who was appointed a little later to the British Embassy at Paris in succession to Lord Lytton, and was succeeded at Rome by Sir Robert Morier, Lord Vivian taking the latter's place at St. Petersburg. The Naval Exhibition, in spite of the dulness of the season, was a marked success. The centenary of the death of Wesley was celebrated not only by the Methodists, but by many sympathisers outside the Connection. The year is closing as it opened with a controversy between "General" Booth and the critics of his pretentious plan for rescuing the "submerged tenth," in aid of which he has recently been levying contributions in Australia.

There has been an unusual multiplicity of *causes célèbres*, to the great injury and inconvenience of ordinary suitors. Important questions of law were raised and decided in the Vagliano banking case, in the licensing case of "Sharp *v.* Wakefield," in the litigation about the sale of Savernake, and in the Mogul Steamship case; and, less regularly and satisfactorily, in the Clitheroe abduction case. The baccarat scandal, the charge against Captain Verney, the Clutterbuck frauds, Mr. Bottomley's proceedings in connection with the Hansard Union and other enterprises, the breach of promise action against Mr. Hurlbert,

the Russell and St. John divorce suits, the Torquay jewel robbery, and the Salvation Army disturbances at Eastbourne were some of the sensational matters investigated in the Law Courts. Hypnotism and theosophy were among the fashionable crazes of the period.

The obituary of the year includes a too lengthy list of notable names. The three most remarkable deaths were those of Count Moltke, Mr. Parnell, and General Boulanger. The first was one of the makers of that great political work of our time, the new German Empire; the two others were dangerous elements of destruction and illusion, who knew how to play upon the weaknesses of the democracy.

At home some striking gaps have been caused in the ranks of politicians of every party and among the higher nobility. In Mr. W. H. Smith the Conservative party lost a staunch but moderate leader, whose weight in council was far greater than was publicly known, and who was beloved and esteemed by all, while in Lord Granville the small body of Opposition peers were deprived of an amiable and prudent chief, of ripe experience in public affairs. The death of the Duke of Devonshire, though he had never been prominent in party strife, had an important political bearing by removing Lord Hartington to the Upper House. The Duke of Bedford, the head of another great Whig family which stood manfully by the cause of the Union, and Lord Portsmouth, also an old Whig and a loyal Unionist, have passed away; as well as the Duke of Somerset; Lord Lytton, a brilliant personage as diplomatist, Indian Viceroy, and man of letters; Dr. Magee, who had just been raised to the Archbishopric of York, one of the most impressive and original of contemporary orators; Mr. Raikes, the Postmaster-General in Lord Salisbury's Government; Sir William White, British Ambassador at Constantinople; Lord Powis, High Steward of Cambridge University; Sir Robert Fowler and Mr. Baring, the two members for the City of London, who were cut off within a few weeks of each other; Lord Edward Cavendish; Lord Beauchamp; Mr. Kinglake, the historian of the Crimean War; Dr. Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle; Lord Albemarle, a Waterloo veteran; Sir Charles Forster, who had long had the charge of Private Bill business in the House of Commons; Dr. Harold Browne, formerly Bishop of Winchester; Dr. Perry, formerly Bishop of Melbourne; Mr. Cavendish-Bentinck; Mr. Bradlaugh, whose conflicts with Par-

liament had been wellnigh forgotten when he died ; Sir W. Kirby Green, British Minister in Morocco ; Baron Huddleston ; Lord Justice-General Inglis ; Judge Woulfe Flanagan, for many years at the head of the Irish Landed Estates Court ; Sir Thomas Chambers, Recorder of London ; Dean Plumptre ; Dean Elliott ; Archdeacon Norris, who had just been appointed Dean of Chichester ; Mr. Thomas Hare, one of the Charity Commissioners and the author of the plan of "proportional representation;" Sir Montague Smith, an ex-Judge of high repute ; Mr. Clifford Lloyd, Consul at Erzeroum, and well known as a chief divisional magistrate in Ireland ; Dr. Luard, the Registray of Cambridge ; Sir J. P. Corry ; Sir Prescott Hewett and Sir Risdon Bennett, both eminent in the medical profession ; Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood, the philologist ; Mr. Edwin Long, the academician ; Mr. Keeley Halswelle, the landscape painter ; Mr. W. G. Wills, the dramatist ; Mr. Haggis, the Deputy Chairman of the London County Council ; the distinguished engineers Sir John Hawkshaw and Sir Joseph Bazalgette ; Mr. Charles Keene, the cleverest of *Punch's* draughtsmen ; Professor Mosely, the biologist ; Sir. W. F. Douglas, President of the Scottish Academy ; Mr. Alfred Cellier, the composer ; Colonel Shadwell Clerke ; Mr. Lewis Wingfield ; and Mr. Maddison Morton, the veteran playwright ; and among former members of the House of Commons Mr. W. H. Gladstone, the eldest son of the ex-Prime Minister ; Colonel Harcourt ; Mr. Peter Taylor ; Mr. John Holms ; Mr. W. P. Price, the Railway Commissioner ; and Mr. Norwood, the leader of the resistance to the dock strike. Mr. Parnell's death, at the very crisis of his struggle against the Clerical party in Ireland, was accompanied by that of Sir John Pope Hennessy, one of the most astute and obstinate of his opponents, and was quickly followed by that of the most faithful of his adherents, Mr. Richard Power. The O'Gorman Mahon, the patriarch of the Irish Nationalists, had died earlier in the year.

Among the royal caste abroad, the King of Würtemberg, the ex-Emperor of Brazil, and Prince Baldwin of Flanders, who stood in the immediate line of the Belgian succession, have been removed. Prince Napoleon, familiarly known as "Plonplon," belonged rather to the class of pretenders, though his claims had never been so alarming to the French Republic as those of General Boulanger, who committed suicide after witnessing the final extinction of his political hopes.

The death-roll of France embraces many other remarkable names, among them those of ex-President Grévy ; of Prince Lucien Bonaparte, who drew a pension from the English Civil List for his scientific labours ; of Bishop Freppel, the champion of the Clericals in the Chamber ; of Baron Haussmann, the creator of modern Paris ; of M. Pouyer-Quertier, once leader of the French Protectionists ; of Meissonier, the artist ; of Octave Feuillet, the novelist ; of Théodore de Banville, the poet ; of Weiss, the journalist and Foreign Office writer ; of Albert Wolff, of the *Figaro* ; of Du Boisgobey, the romaneist ; of Pressensé, Protestant pastor and Parliamentarian ; and of Foucher de Careil, the diplomatist.

Germany has lost, beside Count Moltke, Dr. Windthorst, the able and eloquent leader of the Catholic party in the Reichstag. In other European countries we have to record the death of Musurus Pasha, formerly Turkish Minister in England, and the accomplished translator of *Dante* into Greek ; of Dr. Kuenen, the pride of Dutch Biblical erudition ; of Cardinal Paya, Archbishop of Toledo ; of Herr Berg, the leader of the Danish radicals ; of M. Bratiano, the Roumanian statesman ; and of M. Beltcheff, who was murdered in Bulgaria by mistake for M. Stambouloff.

The United States lost General Sherman, perhaps the ablest soldier produced on the Federal side in the Civil War ; Admiral Porter, who served well in the sister service during the same struggle ; Mr. Bancroft, the venerable historian ; Mr. Lowell, the most accomplished of American men of letters, who was at least as well known and highly honoured in England as in his own country ; Mr. Windom, the Seeretary of the Treasury, who died suddenly in January ; Mr. Hamlin, formerly Vice-President ; and Mr. Barnum, the greatest of showmen.

The suicide of ex-President Balmaceda resembled that of Boulanger. In Sir John A. Macdonald, the Prime Minister of the Dominion, there passed away the strongest individual influence and the most striking personality among Canadian public men, with whose name may be associated those of Sir John Robertson, thrice Premier of New South Wales ; Sir Francis Weld and Sir William Fitzherbert, both conspicuous politicians in New Zealand ; and Sir Arthur Blyth, Agent-General for South Australia. Sir Madhava Rao was one of the most capable and trustworthy of native Indian statesmen. It is not easy to classify Mme. Blavatsky, the propagandist of "Theosophy."

## 1892

THE year 1892 has been a year, on the whole, of anxiety and public trouble. Although peace has been preserved, many of the nations of the world have suffered severe misfortunes, and this country has been by no means exempt. A gloomy January brought with it an increase of the distressing disease which for want of a better name has been called influenza ; and from the outset this claimed many victims. In the second week the country learned that the young Duke of Clarence and Avondale, the direct heir after his father to the throne, had taken it in its severest form ; and from the time of the first announcement the physicians' reports gave little room for hope. He died within a few days, on 14th January, at Sandringham, one week after completing his twenty-eighth year, and just when it had been hoped that he was about to enter upon a happy marriage with his cousin, the Princess Victoria Mary of Teck. The cutting short of this romance by the hand of death was keenly felt by the people of the United Kingdom ; and for the sake of the young Princess, for his own sake and that of his parents, and by no means least for the sake of the Queen, the loss which the country had sustained became a personal grief to every one. The Duke of Clarence was buried at Windsor, amid signs of general mourning.

On the 26th there was published a letter from the Queen to the nation, a model, as is everything of the kind that comes from Her Majesty's hand, of the simple expression of profound feeling. It spoke of the young man "suddenly cut off in the flower of his age, full of promise for the future, amiable and gentle, and endearing himself to all" ; of the grandson "whom I loved as a son and whose devotion to me was as great as that of a son" ;

and it ended in words that no subject of Her Majesty could read unmoved—"My bereavements during the last thirty years of my reign have indeed been heavy. Though the labours and anxieties and responsibilities inseparable from my position have been great, yet it is my earnest prayer that God may continue to give me health and strength to work for the good and happiness of my dear country and Empire while life lasts."

It is pleasant to be able to record that the Queen's health and that of the Prince and Princess of Wales, since the first shock of the blow passed away, have been good. Her Majesty greatly enjoyed five weeks of the early spring at Hyères, one of the quietest as well as one of the most beautiful of southern health-resorts ; and since then, though there have been, of course, no Court festivities except on a very modified scale, the life of the Court has followed the usual routine. On the Queen's birthday it was announced that Prince George of Wales had been created Duke of York ; in June his very youthful cousin Princess Marie of Edinburgh was betrothed to the Crown Prince Ferdinand of Roumania, and as a consequence, both the young Prince and King Charles, his uncle, have visited the Queen.

The political work of the year began under curious conditions. It was generally understood that the session was to be the last of the Parliament, and the coming dissolution hung like a cloud over all the work of the House of Commons from the beginning. Mr. Gladstone was away, recruiting at Valescure those forces which he was again to try to the utmost in the session, in the campaign of the general election, and afterwards as once more the head of the Government. And if the regular Opposition was thus weakened by the absence of its leader, three of the other five parties were still more weakened by the fatal hand of death. Since the House had risen Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Parnell had passed beyond the sound of controversy, and the death of the Duke of Devonshire, at the very end of the year 1891, had called the Marquis of Hartington up to the House of Lords and made it necessary for a new leader to be chosen for the Liberal Unionist party.

To Mr. W. H. Smith succeeded Mr. Balfour, an inevitable appointment if it could fairly be said that the state of Ireland was such that the services of the unrivalled Irish Secretary could safely be transferred from the Irish Office. Happily the condition of affairs was such as to make the change quite possible. The

calm and unswerving enforcement of the law during nearly five years had brought about its natural effect ; the Plan of Campaign was conquered ; the village ruffians had fled to America, or were kept safe in the prisons to which just sentences had consigned them ; Ireland was peaceful, and was beginning to be prosperous. If the peace was ever broken, it was between the rival factions which represented the once formidable party of Mr. Parnell. For a whole year the breach had existed, and it had rather widened than closed. Mr. Parnell's death had done nothing to heal it ; for the difference between the factions was really a far wider difference than can be composed by any man less strong than Mr. Parnell—it was, and is, the difference between the priests and the Revolution. The difference showed itself at every point and at every moment, during the session, and at bye-elections, in the struggle for the possession of the *Freeman's Journal*, and, above all, in the general election. But the existence of this division had among other excellent results that of setting Mr. Balfour free to lead the House of Commons. The migration of Lord Hartington to the Upper House was followed by the unanimous election of Mr. Chamberlain to lead the Liberal Unionist party in the Commons.

Parliament met on 9th February with a comparatively unambitious programme before it, as became a House that was entering upon its last session. It was soon seen, however, that the Government was anxious to legislate, while the responsible Opposition no longer indulged in those wild demands for an immediate appeal to the constituencies, which had been the staple of many of the autumn speeches. There was nothing heroic in the list of Bills proposed in the Queen's Speech ; it was a moderate yet sufficient bill of fare, indicating that the Government did not regard the work of the Parliament as complete, while it did not offer anything too large to be properly dealt with in a last session. The principal measures promised related to local government in Ireland and small holdings in England. The Address was disposed of in a reasonable time, the debate dealing chiefly with the two questions of amnesty for the dynamitards (raised by Mr. Redmond) and of Home Rule (raised by Mr. Sexton).

On both questions what was interesting was to note the attitude of the Irish parties towards each other and of the Gladstonians towards the Parnellite wing. Mr. Sexton and his friends were

almost silent about the amnesty ; Mr. Redmond was most precise and most embarrassing about Home Rule. It was in this debate that he challenged Sir William Harcourt to say whether or not he meant to oppose Mr. Parnell's Home Rule ; and Sir William Harcourt, instead of answering, went home. Mr. Gladstone, in a letter to his lieutenant just before the beginning of the session, had declared that "the House would have no cause to regret his absence." Certainly the Unionist party had none, for the preference shown by Sir William Harcourt on this awkward occasion for his "own fireside" was of even more value to the Unionist cause than would have been the cloud of ambiguous subtleties wherewith Mr. Gladstone, had he been there, would have met Mr. Redmond's straight question. The amnesty motion was easily disposed of, but by a piece of bad management that was not soon forgiven to the Government Mr. Sexton was allowed to snatch a division which brought him within twenty-one of carrying his Home Rule amendment.

The narrowness of this majority probably had something to do with the behaviour of the Opposition when, three days later, Mr. Balfour brought in his Irish Local Government Bill. He well knew, as did the Government, that to attempt to legislate on the question at all was to court danger ; that there was little enthusiasm among his own followers for such a measure, and that the Nationalists and their Gladstonian allies were bound in honour to have none of it ; and that in the last session of a Parliament the time to carry any such Bill would probably be wanting even if the objections of his friends could be overcome. But he felt bound to make the attempt, which was, it must always be admitted, an honest attempt to legislate for Ireland on Unionist principles—that is, to extend to Ireland, as far as was possible, the same facilities of local self-government that had been granted by Mr. Ritchie's Bill to England.

The reception accorded to the mover's speech was of the most hostile description, but it was the hostility of a *parti pris*. The Irish group, with more than an ordinary display of their accustomed courtesy, tried to laugh Mr. Balfour down, and such words as "sham," "imposture," and "insult" were among the mildest by which the Bill was afterwards characterised by Mr. Healy and Mr. Redmond. Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt were a little more decent, but, as Mr. Balfour said, not less "pre-arranged."

The Bill was intended, in the proposer's words, to be a County Councils Bill and a District Councils Bill in one ; to establish elective councils for counties and also for baronies, the smallest administrative unit which exists in Ireland. These were to take over all the administrative duties now performed by the grand juries and by the baronial sessions, while not interfering with their judicial duties or with the granting of compensation for malicious injuries. They were to have in their hands the complete local administration of the country—its roads and woodlands, its sanitation, its lunatic asylums, its coroners, and so on.

While describing these as the duties of the future councils, and speaking of the widely-extended franchise under which the councils were to be elected, Mr. Balfour was heard with something like toleration, but the case was altered when he began to speak of the extremely necessary provisions which the Government had inserted for the protection of minorities. Now, Mr. Healy and Mr. Redmond are resolved that minorities, except, perhaps, in Ulster, shall not be protected, and Mr. Gladstone professes to believe that they do not need it ; so that, when Mr. Balfour announced that stringent clauses in the Bill would take care of the interests of the minorities, the desire of the Irish Opposition and of some of their English allies was to laugh or shout him down. One clause contained the principle of the cumulative vote, another the establishment of a partly nominated Board to control capital expenditure and permanent charges. Another and still more important clause provided that, on the petition of twenty cesspayers, a council charged with malversation or oppression should be tried by two election judges, and, if found guilty, should be removed, and their places filled by persons appointed by the Lord Lieutenant.

This was the unpardonable element in the Bill ; the clause which one Irish member after another, with well-simulated indignation, declared to be an insult and an outrage ; the clause, apparently, which made Sir George Trevelyan declare that "ascendancy was written in every line of the Bill" ; the clause that made Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Morley talk of "monstrous proposals" and pathetically appeal to outraged common-sense. The idea that oppression was possible in an Irish elective assembly was shocking to the faith of Mr. Morley ; but, strange to say, when, some months later, he was speaking to a popular audience on Home Rule, and on the thorny question

of the relations between the Imperial and the future Irish Parliament, he declared that in cases of "oppression" it would be the duty of the Imperial Parliament to interfere. Thus, what Mr. Balfour might not hint with regard to a County Council, Mr. Morley might freely say of the much more august body to be gathered on St. Stephen's Green.

The months before Easter were fully occupied. In the last week Mr. Goschen introduced his Budget, which announced the small surplus of £224,000—no great balance, it is true, but better than had been anticipated by many prudent observers of the stagnant trade, the low rate of profits, and general anxiety which prevailed in the business world. The holidays then intervened, and were followed by much other business, so that it was not till the latter end of May that Mr. Balfour had an opportunity of proposing the second reading of his Bill. The debate was much more serious than that on the introduction of the measure; the note of "pre-arrangement" had vanished; the Irish members no longer pretended to laugh the Bill down. The occasion was remarkable for the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Gladstone. The latter's appearances during the session were comparatively few, but in attacking this Bill he showed much of both his old subtlety and his old fire.

The Unionist party, as though to wipe out once for all the memory of their remissness during the debate on the Address, mustered in full force, and the second reading was carried in a crowded House by the great majority of 92, the numbers being 339 against 247. But this was the last that was heard of the Conservative Local Government Bill for Ireland. It was impossible, if the dissolution was to take place before the harvest, to carry so contested a measure through Committee at so late a period of the session, and accordingly no one was surprised when, on 13th June, Mr. Balfour announced that the Bill, with that for amending Private Bill Procedure, would not be persevered with.

The Government was more fortunate with its second chief measure, that for encouraging the creation of small agricultural holdings, which was introduced by Mr. Chaplin on 22nd February, got into Committee in April, and was duly passed into law. The Bill, which was piloted with no little skill by Mr. Chaplin, provided for the acquisition of land by the county councils for the purpose of reselling it or letting it to small working freeholders or occupiers. The object, of course, was to do something to replace

the yeoman on the soil, and to check that depopulation of the country districts which in so many parts of England is a real evil. The Bill permitted county councils to borrow money on easy terms, in amounts which would not in any year add more than a penny in the pound to the rates, and to spend the money in purchasing land by agreement with the owner, and to sell in parcels under fifty acres or to let in parcels not exceeding ten acres. The payments by the purchaser were to be one-fourth in cash, one-fourth in form of a perpetual rent-charge, and the remaining half by easy instalments.

The weak point of the Bill was certainly its dependence upon the county councils, which represent large areas ; and the Opposition endeavoured to compel a change in this respect, placing the matter in the hands of parish councils. But parish councils do not yet exist, nor did the House feel disposed to call them into existence on what, after all, is but a side issue ; and in the end Mr. Chaplin easily carried his Bill, without even a division on the second reading. He made several concessions, all in favour of the future occupier or freeholder ; and the Bill was sent up to the House of Lords with general approval just before Whitsuntide. The Opposition would have greatly preferred to give the county councils compulsory powers of purchase, and it is quite possible that the new Parliament may be asked to do so ; but such a proposal naturally failed to gain the assent of a Conservative Minister and of his majority.

There was a good deal of wrangling over two other Government Bills, as is always the case where it is a question of distributing public money. The Scotch Equivalent Grant Bill intended to provide for the allocation, in Scotland, of a sum such as the country would have been entitled to receive when school fees were abolished, had it not already received free elementary education. The Irish Education Bill did much the same for Ireland. In the former case, the proposal to distribute the money partly among secondary education and the Universities, partly in aid of pauper lunatics, and partly in relief of local rates, was carried after a good deal of time had been wasted. In the Irish matter, all went well till Archbishop Walsh declared against the clauses which proposed to introduce modified compulsion into elementary education in the towns ; and Mr. Sexton, his mouthpiece, endeavoured to force the Government to alter their measure. After much delay, Mr. Jackson threatened to with-

draw the Bill, and, of course, the grant ; the Irish members began to explain away their opposition ; and the Bill, with certain alterations, became law.

So did the Indian Councils Bill, which provided for the tentative introduction, under severe limitations, of the elective principle into the Constitution of the Viceroy's and the Provincial Councils. The Clergy Discipline Bill was also passed after much delay, caused by the desire of a little group of Welsh obstructives to force upon the House their own views upon Disestablishment. Mr. Samuel Smith had duly brought forward a Welsh Disestablishment motion in February, and had mustered 220 supporters against 267 ; but this was not enough for the zeal of Messrs. Evans, Lloyd-George, and Philipps. These gentlemen, however, after all their ingenious efforts to waste the time of the House, were beaten when the Bill came on for the third reading by 145 to 17.

A more important incident in the history of the Church of England than even the passing of this Bill may here be mentioned—namely, the confirmation on 2nd August by the Privy Council of the judgment of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Bishop of Lincoln's case. This decision, which practically upholds the Bishop in the acts of which the Low Churchmen complained, is not easy to reconcile with some former judgments of the same tribunal ; but it has probably settled the law of ceremonial in the English Church for a long time to come. A number of measures introduced by private members took up much of the time of Parliament, as did the necessary voting of Supply ; and it was generally thought to be quick work when the Government found themselves able to wind up the session and to dissolve Parliament so early as 28th June.

For some time before the 28th, however, the interest of the country had been directed elsewhere than to the expiring House of Commons. Half the members were away among their constituents, preparing for the battle that was at hand ; and during the week before the Dissolution the addresses of the different leaders put the issues of the conflict definitely before the people. But an event of peculiar significance had done even more to fix the attention of the country upon the real question of the day. On the 17th an immense gathering of Ulstermen had taken place at Belfast to protest in unmistakable language against the policy of Home Rule, whether Gladstonian or Fenian, or both.

A vast pavilion had been erected for the purpose, and here some 20,000 persons met together, 12,000 of them delegates, chosen, after full discussion, from every electoral division of Ulster. The Duke of Abercorn presided, but the speakers were purposely chosen from among the men known chiefly in their localities as tenant-farmers, workmen, chairmen of clubs, and so forth.

The steady, determined, and yet moderate language of the delegates and the attitude of the Convention made a great impression, and Mr. Gladstone was never feebler than when, the next day, he attempted before a Nonconformist audience at Clapham to explain it all away. One point that he made may be here recorded, for it is typical. "He had heard," he said, "of a protest of the 990 Nonconformist ministers in Ireland. Where were their signatures? They had never been produced." This was said on a Saturday. On the Monday following the protest in question, dating from 1888, was reprinted in the *Times*, and the signatures to it occupied two and a half columns of the paper.

At the time of the dissolution Lord Salisbury, having no constituents to address, took the unusual, but perfectly natural and legitimate step of issuing a manifesto to the electors of the United Kingdom; and the burden of it throughout was the Ulster Convention. It was a stirring appeal to the honour of the United Kingdom against "the abandonment of the Loyalists of Ireland, and especially the Protestants of Ulster, to the unrestrained and absolute power of those with whom they had been in conflict for centuries, of the men, and the followers of the men, whose crimes were denounced before the whole world by the judgment of impartial judges sitting in the Special Commission."

Mr. Gladstone ignored the whole of that side of the question, treated the electors to a good deal of dubious history, talked of "the happy omen of reciprocal affection which cannot but follow the frank concession of Home Rule," and then passed on to the millennium of benefits which the country was to enjoy under a Liberal Government when once Ireland was out of the way.

Mr. Balfour declared that a Gladstonian settlement of Ireland would be an unsettlement, and pointed with calm satisfaction to the positive achievements of six years of Unionist Government. The official leaders, however, are not by any means to be considered alone in estimating the course and significance of the general election of 1892.

On the Gladstonian side, at all events, there fought a number of semi-independent auxiliaries, each with his own banner, and each with his own intentions. There was Mr. Stuart Rendel, for instance, who gathered the forces of Wales under a flag on which the words "Home Rule" were overshadowed by those of "Welsh Disestablishment." There was Mr. Labouchere who neither before, nor during, nor after the election showed himself at all ready to follow anybody's lead but his own ; and there were the ominously increased number of Labour candidates who supported Mr. Gladstone not for his ends, but for those of their new party, which is formidable beyond its numerical strength. Of this small party Mr. John Burns is the best known and the strongest member. He was returned for Battersea by a large majority, polling no fewer than 5616 votes.

After three weeks of hard fighting the new Parliament was duly elected, and was found to contain a majority of 40 (since somewhat altered by election petitions, etc.) on the Separatist side. The Conservatives numbered 268, their Liberal Unionist allies 47, and against this total of 315 were arrayed 270 Gladstonians, 4 Labour members, 72 anti-Parnellites or Irish Clericalists, and 9 Parnellites—a total of 355. The Separatists entirely depended for their majority upon the Irish Nationalist factions ; Great Britain by a small majority, and England alone by a large one, declared against Home Rule. In Great Britain the number stood at 292 for the Union to 275 against it, a Unionist majority of 17 ; in England, there were 268 Unionists against 197 Home Rulers, a majority of 71. This dominating fact is not likely to be forgotten by the country when the struggle over Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule measure begins in Parliament.

A feature of the election was the comparative success of the Liberal Unionists, whose political extinction had been freely proclaimed by Sir William Harcourt and other prophets. Their victories, at all events in the Midlands, were largely owing to the energy and zeal of Mr. Chamberlain. His majorities in Birmingham were overwhelming ; they were sufficient in Worcestershire, Staffordshire, and Warwickshire. The great towns of England were divided on principles very difficult to explain, Lancashire being mainly Conservative and Yorkshire Liberal, and other curious results appearing all over the map.

In the counties there were many Gladstonian successes, gained

for the most part through the candidates having studiously ignored Mr. Gladstone's programme of Home Rule, and having gone for the labourer's vote on the broad ground that a Liberal Government would mean high wages, cheap food, and somebody else's land. The most conspicuous personal defeats were those of Mr. Ritchie in St. George's-in-the-East, and of Mr. Walter Long in the Devizes Division of Wiltshire, of Lord Cranborne in the Darwen Division, of Sir E. Birkbeck in Norfolk, and of Mr. Arthur Elliot in Roxburghshire; but more important than any of these were the extraordinary diminutions in the majorities by which Mr. Gladstone was returned in Midlothian, and Mr. Morley in Newcastle. The latter headed the poll in 1886, and at a bye-election soon afterwards beat Alderman Hamond by more than 2000; but now he was the same distance behind his old opponent. It is only fair to say, however, that on offering himself for re-election a few weeks later, after accepting office, his supporters made a better show, and he beat Mr. Pandeli Ralli by a considerable majority. In Midlothian Mr. Gladstone, who had carried the seat in 1885 by a majority of over 4000, was now only 690 ahead of his opponent; a fall which inevitably recalls his experiences of similar defection at Oxford, South Lancashire, and Greenwich.

Lord Salisbury having determined not to resign without meeting Parliament, the session opened on 4th August. Mr. Peel was unanimously re-elected Speaker, and on 8th August the struggle began. The honour of moving a No-Confidence amendment to the Address was confided to Mr. Asquith, whose steady rise in Parliamentary position during the last two or three years had marked him out for work of the kind, and for high office. After three nights' debate, in which the rank and file of the Gladstonians preserved an absolute silence, and in which Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Gladstone made remarkable speeches, the division was taken in the fullest House on record, and the Gladstonian party polled its entire majority of 40 against the Government.

Lord Salisbury of course resigned, and in about a week the new Government was constructed, with Mr. Gladstone for the fourth time Prime Minister. He was then within four months of his eighty-third birthday. Sir William Harcourt became Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the lead of the House in Mr. Gladstone's absence; Mr. John Morley went to the Irish

Office ; and Lord Rosebery after some persuasion consented to become Foreign Secretary once more. Besides these, the most interesting nominations were those of Mr. Asquith to the Home Office, of Mr. Arthur Acland to the Vice-Presidency of the Council, and of Mr. Henry Fowler to the Local Government Board. Parliament was at once prorogued, and up to the present time the Ministry has not generally shown its hand ; its leading members having been markedly absent from the Lord Mayor's Banquet, where some hint of the work of the coming session is commonly given by the Prime Minister.

Public attention has been directed to three questions only on which Ministers have taken action. Thanks to Lord Rosebery's presence and influence in the Cabinet, the abandonment of Uganda is "postponed"—we trust indefinitely ; Mr. Asquith has opened Trafalgar Square to "the people," but only on Saturdays, Sundays, and Bank Holidays, and then under conditions ; and Mr. Morley has appointed an Evicted Tenants Commission, which, in consequence of the intemperate opening speech and action of its Chairman, Mr. Justice Mathew, has already proved a complete failure, the landlords one and all having refused to present themselves before it.

A more serious concession to Irish disaffection was the release, on Christmas Eve, of the Gweedore prisoners, convicted of the slaughter of District Inspector Martin. This deplorable act of weakness was immediately followed by a dynamite explosion at Dublin Castle, which destroyed the life of a detective.

Before we leave the history of the domestic politics of the year, we may refer to the election petitions of which a fairly abundant crop has followed the election. A vexatious attempt to unseat Mr. Arthur Balfour was very easily repelled ; Mr. F. James lost his seat for Walsall owing to some transgressions on the part of his agents of an annoyingly insignificant kind ; and the elections for Hexham and Rochester were also declared void. Far more important than these were the petitions presented by the Parnellites in South Meath and North Meath against their victorious rivals, for whom the priests had exercised their well-known machinery of spiritual intimidation. Both seats—the latter held by Mr. Davitt—were pronounced vacant, and the public of Great Britain received an invaluable object-lesson in the meaning of Home Rule and free election in Catholic Ireland.

It is impossible to treat under any other head than that of domestic politics such an event as the election of the second London County Council, which took place in March, or such actions as those which have characterised its nine months of office. The election excited a great deal of interest, but chiefly on one side only, and, in spite of abundant warnings, the "Moderates," or Conservatives, allowed the decision of the polls to go against them by default. Of a total number of 489,704 qualified electors only 238,631 voted, while 251,073 abstained. The number of Progressives chosen was 83, and that of Moderates 35 ; so that, as the proportions of the "Aldermen" are still more in favour of the Progressives, the advanced party has had it all its own way.

Lord Rosebery was elected for East Finsbury without coming forward as a candidate. For a few weeks he resumed the Chairmanship, but since then he has not often attended, though he has given the support of his name to one important demand made by Progressive Councillors and others—that the County Council should be now permitted to absorb the Corporation of the City of London. The new Chairman is Mr. John Hutton ; the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Charles Harrison, the leader of the party whose watchword is "betterment." The best work of the year has been the adoption of the project for an important new street from Holborn to the Strand ; but it appears that no progress will be made in carrying out this scheme until Parliament has consented to tax the landlords upon the new principle contained in the Council's "Owners' Improvement Rate Bill."

Meantime the Council, inspired by its members, Mr. John Burns and Mr. Sidney Webb, has developed a new labour policy, the chief features of which are twofold—that it will be as far as possible its own contractor, and that it will pay what is called "the trade union rate of wages." In other words, it purposed to become an enormous employer of labour, and to invite the trade unions to fix the wages for which their members—who are also the Council's constituents—will condescend to work. In vain did Sir Thomas Farrer, himself at first one of the leaders of the Progressives, make a solemn protest against the ruinous cost of this policy. The majority talked of its "mandate," and voted the principle.

Throughout Europe there has been general anxiety, though no serious alarm of war. The influenza in the winter and

spring and the cholera later have caused infinite loss and perturbation ; and the year has been marked by political crises everywhere, by scandals in high places, and by the Anarchists' terrorising activity. In the United States a Presidential election, in which Mr. Cleveland, the Democrat, was successful, has resulted in a complete change in the political and commercial outlook. In South America the tendency has been towards pacification and improvement.

In the internal affairs of the great Continental Powers there has been no lack of interesting incidents. France has had two changes of Government, but the importance of both crises has yielded to that of the Anarchist outrages in the spring, of the Carmaux strike in the autumn, and of the Panama scandals, which are at this present moment a subject of intense interest not only to Paris but, in a less degree, to the whole world. M. de Freycinet's Cabinet fell last February, because it had been long enough in office and because M. de Freycinet wished to extinguish his too powerful colleague, M. Constans ; and M. Constans helped him by an unseemly scuffle into which he allowed himself to be drawn by the impertinences of M. Laur, a Boulangist deputy, now a fugitive from arrest on charges connected with Panama. M. Loubet, the next Premier, was comparatively unknown, except as a personal friend of President Carnot. With the old Ministers at the War Office and the Foreign Office he conducted the affairs of France better than had been expected, till his Cabinet fell in one of the squalls that together form the Panama tempest in which the ship of the Republic is now labouring. In the spring a series of abominable dynamite outrages in Paris warned the Republic that it had enemies below, and the capture and eventual execution of the ringleader Ravachol did not prevent a repetition of his crime, with fatal results, in the autumn.

But a more serious danger has been found to threaten the Republic from within ; and the corruption laid to the charge of certain groups of Senators and Deputies, including several ex-Ministers, has been made the pretext for an organised attack on Republican institutions which may, if it is intelligently directed, prove more formidable than any that they have experienced since the Royalists were beaten in 1877. The new Premier, M. Ribot, was Foreign Minister in the last two Cabinets. He is a man of ability and unquestioned honour, but it may be

doubted whether his somewhat pedantic manner and lawyer-like mind will enable his Government successfully to withstand the assaults and intrigues of which it is the object.

The Triple Alliance remains unshaken, and neither the signs of faction and internal weakness in France nor the frightful ravages of the cholera in Russia have persuaded the Sovereigns and statesmen of Central Europe that the need for that Alliance is any less than it was. On the contrary, the German Government is straining every nerve to strengthen the forces of the country by a new and severe Army Bill, opposed as yet by the Liberals and the Centre, and sharply criticised by the organs of Prince Bismarck, who has lost no opportunity of proclaiming, often in a very unseemly fashion, that under Count Caprivi "the country is going to the dogs." The principal occasion of these denunciations was when the ex-Chancellor visited Vienna for his son's wedding, and had a great popular reception at Dresden, at Vienna, at Munich, and elsewhere. Stung to wrath by the instructions given to the German Embassy at Vienna that he should not be officially noticed, and by the ostentatious refusal of the Courts to welcome him, he spoke with much bitterness both in public and in conversation with newspaper reporters. Semi-official threats of a prosecution were uttered; but fortunately Germany and the world were spared such a scandal.

The Emperor has made one or two astonishing speeches, chiefly directed against the "grumblers" who objected to his reactionary Prussian Education Bill; and the anti-Semitic agitation still continues to smoulder, its most noteworthy incident being the publication by one Ahlwardt of a libellous pamphlet against "Jewish Rifles"—the rifles supplied to the German army by the well-known house of Loewe.

Russia has gone on mercilessly driving out the Jews, losing 250,000 souls by the cholera, "exploring" the Pamirs, and quietly hoarding gold for use in the next war. In Greece a general election has sent back to power M. Tricoupi, the only statesman who frankly recognises that Greece is as yet a weak Power and unable to dispense with the goodwill of Europe. There is a new Prime Minister in Hungary; and in Italy the Di Rudini Cabinet has made way for one presided over by Signor Giolitti, the Moderate Left displacing the Moderate Right. In Spain, where the boy king unfortunately has to struggle against

weak health, the indispensable Conservative Premier, Señor Canovas, has given place to the indispensable Liberal, Señor Sagasta. Portugal has been tranquil ; the mob has neither attacked the King nor insulted England ; and the Mozambique Company has been reconstituted with English capital. Belgium has been a good deal vexed with labour troubles and by the mutual hatred of Catholics and Liberals ; the bonds uniting Sweden and Norway have become more strained ; while Holland and Denmark seem for the moment to have attained to the happiness of those people who have no history.

In our diplomatic service a good many changes have occurred. Lord Dufferin's nomination to Paris, in consequence of the death of Lord Lytton, had taken place just before the end of 1891, but the changes consequent upon it and upon the much-lamented death of Sir William White were not finally determined for some time. In the end Sir Clare Ford went to Constantinople, and was succeeded at Madrid by Sir Henry Drummond Wolff ; Sir Robert Morier stayed at St. Petersburg, though he had almost left for Rome ; Lord Vivian went to Rome from Brussels, Sir E. Monson to Brussels from Athens, Mr. Egerton to Athens from the post of First Secretary in Paris ; and later Sir John Walsham left Pekin for Bucharest, Mr. O'Conor went to Pekin, and Mr. Dering to Sofia.

Looking abroad to the dependencies and colonies of England and to the country where as yet her influence is supreme, we find few events of great moment to record. India has been peaceful, though anxiety has been felt as to events in Afghanistan, and during the autumn there was much talk of a meeting between the Ameer and Lord Roberts. That General's time as Commander-in-Chief having expired, he is to be succeeded by General Sir George White, an officer of great Indian reputation. There has been a small expedition or two on the frontier ; but the most remarkable has been the purely pacific one of Mr. Conway and a few other mountaineers to a height in the Himalayas far in excess of anything that has been reached by human foot before.

Anglo-Indians have specially felt the trouble which has weighed, this year more than ever, upon the whole commercial world, the decline in the value of silver as compared with gold, which to them means the fall in the rupee, and the consequent fall in official incomes. The formation of the Indian Currency

Association, which urges the adoption of a gold standard for India, has been one of the important steps taken in view of this fall ; another, which may or may not have some practical result, has been the appointment of a strong Committee at home, with Lord Herschell as chairman, charged with investigating the whole question as it affects India.

In Egypt the Khedive Tewfik has been succeeded by his son, Abbas, a youth of eighteen, and the revival of prosperity in the country has proceeded unchecked. Mr. Palmer's Budget, brought out in February, showed a truly magnificent advance ; and all but the extreme Left of the Gladstonians admit the success of the work which England is doing on the Nile, and the terrible danger which would come from our withdrawal.

The colonies have gone on their way without phenomenal accidents, unless we are to except the overthrow of Mr. Mercier and the so-called Liberal—really ultramontane and anti-English—party in the Province of Quebec. In Australia there has been a great strike at the Broken Hill Mines, in which the men have had to confess defeat ; and the question of the division of Queensland has advanced a stage.

South Africa continues its course of rapid development, thanks to the continued prosperity of the gold fields in the Transvaal and the diamond fields of Kimberley, the encouraging reports from Mashonaland, the Zambesi, and Nyassaland, and the phenomenal energy of Mr. Rhodes. Further north there have been serious difficulties with regard to Uganda, the British East Africa Company finding it impossible to manage the territory and make it pay with its limited resources, and there having been feuds and bloodshed between rival factions, magnified, by the journalists of Paris, into "massacres," organised by the English, of Catholics and French sympathisers. The whole matter has been carefully considered by the Cabinet, in the light of Captain Lugard's reports ; the company, in consideration of a grant from the Government, has agreed to postpone evacuation for three months ; and Sir Gerald Portal, the British Consul-General in Zanzibar, has been ordered to proceed at once to Uganda with a sufficient escort to examine and report upon the situation.

If we are to look back upon the general non-political aspects of the year, we find the retrospect far from pleasant. Epidemic illness, one of the poorest harvests of recent years, bad trade

made worse by labour troubles, and, at home and in the colonies, several great disasters—these might, with little injustice, be held to make up the main substance of the history of 1892. During the winter and spring the influenza was everywhere; in August the cholera, which had been ravaging Persia and the Russian Empire, broke out at Hamburg, and took many thousands of lives. It visited Paris, Havre, and Antwerp, but the vigilance of the authorities fortunately prevented its gaining a footing in England. After a dry spring there followed a stormy June and July, with the result that the harvest was throughout the country far below the average. As the price of corn is lower than ever before, this meant disaster to the farmer; especially as the dearness of hay has compelled him to sell his stock at a ruinous sacrifice. The very serious condition of agriculture led to the assembling of a great conference in London a few weeks ago; but, unfortunately, the assembled farmers and their friends could devise no better remedy than bimetallism and protection.

Trade in general, which might by this time have recovered from the effects of the Baring collapse, has been depressed by the silver crisis; a difficulty at once extremely serious, and, as would appear by the failure of the strongly-manned International Monetary Conference at Brussels, beyond the reach of any remedy known to bankers or to statesmen. If there has been no great disaster among highly-placed business houses, there has been during the autumn widespread trouble among small investors caused by the failure of the Liberator Building Society and a number of kindred companies; and at one time the panic among depositors in such establishments was such that even the Birkbeck was seriously assailed.

Of the labour troubles of the year the most conspicuous instance is that offered by the great strike of colliers in Durham, which lasted for twelve weeks (March to June), and ended in the men having to accept the wages originally offered by the masters. At this moment a very similar strike of cotton operatives in Lancashire, bringing misery and privation to many thousands of homes, is proceeding on much the same lines. More conspicuous but perhaps not more ruinous disasters have been the fire which destroyed the greater part of St. John's, Newfoundland, and the hurricane which in April devastated Mauritius.

Of the shipwrecks of the year, two, in the late autumn, were unusually tragic in character—that of the P. and O. steamer *Bokhara* in the China Sea, and that of the *Roumania* on the coast of Portugal. In each case there was a terrible loss of life. The royal navy has not escaped, for in the spring the *Victoria* went ashore on the coast of Greece, and in November the *Howe* struck the rocks of Ferrol Harbour. The *Victoria* had the good luck to be floated by the next tide, but whether the *Howe* can be saved is as yet uncertain. There have been perhaps fewer railway accidents than usual, but the telescoping of an express against a luggage train at Thirsk on the night of 1st November, owing to the fault of an overwrought signalman, was of itself a disaster sufficient to mark the year. If crimes are to be classed under the head of calamities, we may here reckon those which sent to the gallows two of the most atrocious murderers on record—Deeming and Thomas Neill Cream.

A year which has seen the death of the great English poet of our age must have a place for ever marked in the history of literature. When he died a last volume of Lord Tennyson's poems was actually in the press, and has been published since ; but, except for this small book, the chief event to interest readers of poetry has been the sudden emergence of a writer formerly known only to a few—Mr. William Watson ; most unfortunately, his success has for the time affected an excitable brain, but recent accounts promise that this excellent young poet will soon recover his health and the power to work. In fiction the year has produced, among a mass of writings already almost forgotten, three or four books that have made a deep impression ; in history the chief events have not been any publications, but the death of Professor Freeman and the appointment of Mr. Froude to fill his chair. Biographies and reminiscences have been without end ; many might have been spared altogether, and almost the only one that is too short is the brief record of the life and work of Sir Henry Maine that has just been published by Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff.

Except the happy close of the long negotiations with Mr. Tate for the founding of a Gallery for British Art, there is little to record in the history of the Fine Arts, where we have the curiously contradictory phenomena of dull markets and incessant new exhibitions. There are far too many painters for the demand ; some of the wisest of them are learning to confine

themselves to the illustration of books, for which the rapidly increasing perfection of "process-blocks" is giving every day a larger scope.

The history of the auction room is of particular interest this year, not only on account of such sales as those of the late Mr. David Price's and the late Lord Cheylesmore's collections of modern pictures, but still more for the Dudley, Magniac, and Fisher sales. Lord Dudley's and the late Mr. Magniac's collections each realised over £100,000, the former attaining that sum in one afternoon, when an early work of Raphael and a lovely Hobbema each sold for over £10,000. Unprecedented prices were reached also by some of the late Mr. Richard Fisher's old prints. But the great sale of the year in the world of art and curiosity was undoubtedly that of the Althorp library to Mrs. Rylands, who intends to present it, housed in a suitable building, to Manchester.

In the theatrical world the chief events have been the two Lyceum "revivals" of *Henry VIII.* and *King Lear*; the production of successful comedies by Mr. Wilde, Mr. J. M. Barrie, and Mr. Carton; and—most significant of all—the transformation of the Royal English Opera House into a music hall. The chief contriver of this change has also been running melodrama and pantomime at Drury Lane and opera (in Italian, German, and French) at Covent Garden. Elsewhere musical history has been relatively uneventful, except perhaps for the two or three appearances, and triumphs, of M. Paderewski.

The death list of the year has been long and full of considerable names. We have spoken of the Duke of Clarence, dying just as his flowering time of life was beginning. A little later the Queen had another bereavement in the death of her son-in-law, the Grand Duke of Hesse. On the same day as the Duke of Clarence died Cardinal Manning, at the great age of eighty-three; and before the month ended there died at Mentone the great preacher of the lower middle class, Mr. Spurgeon. Cardinal Manning was in many ways remarkable; he was almost great from the insight with which he recognised, and the energy with which he strove to put into effect, the power which might come to the Roman Catholic Church from a union with the democracy. Had he been twenty years younger he might have had time to become exceedingly dangerous.

Among many other names which fill the year's obituary we

may here mention Lord Bramwell, a great lawyer, and always to be remembered by the readers of this paper for the keenness with which, in letters signed "B," he used to bring common-sense to cut through political and economical sophisms; Viscount Sherbrooke, better known as Robert Lowe; Viscount Hampden, formerly Speaker Brand; Sir James Caird, the greatest authority on agricultural statistics of his time; Sir Provo Wallis, a centenarian admiral; the two illustrious veterans of science, Sir George Airy and Sir Richard Owen, and Professor Adams, the discoverer of the planet Neptune; and Professor Freeman, the most diligent of historical students and the most vehement of historical controversialists.

In Tewfik Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, there has passed away a faithful ally of this country; in Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, the founder and first President of the Republic of Brazil.

America has lost the least beloved of her millionaires, Jay Gould, and two of her poets, Walt Whitman and the Quaker Whittier; and France has lost her most distinguished Churchman, Cardinal Lavigerie, and the greatest of her prose writers and the most stimulating of her critics of religious history, Ernest Renan. But to the English-reading world the loss which stamps the year is that of Lord Tennyson, for over a generation the unquestioned head of English literature. He died on 6th October at his house at Aldworth, on the beautiful edge of Blackdown, and was buried, as was fitting, in Westminster Abbey, close to Chaucer, Spenser, and Dryden.

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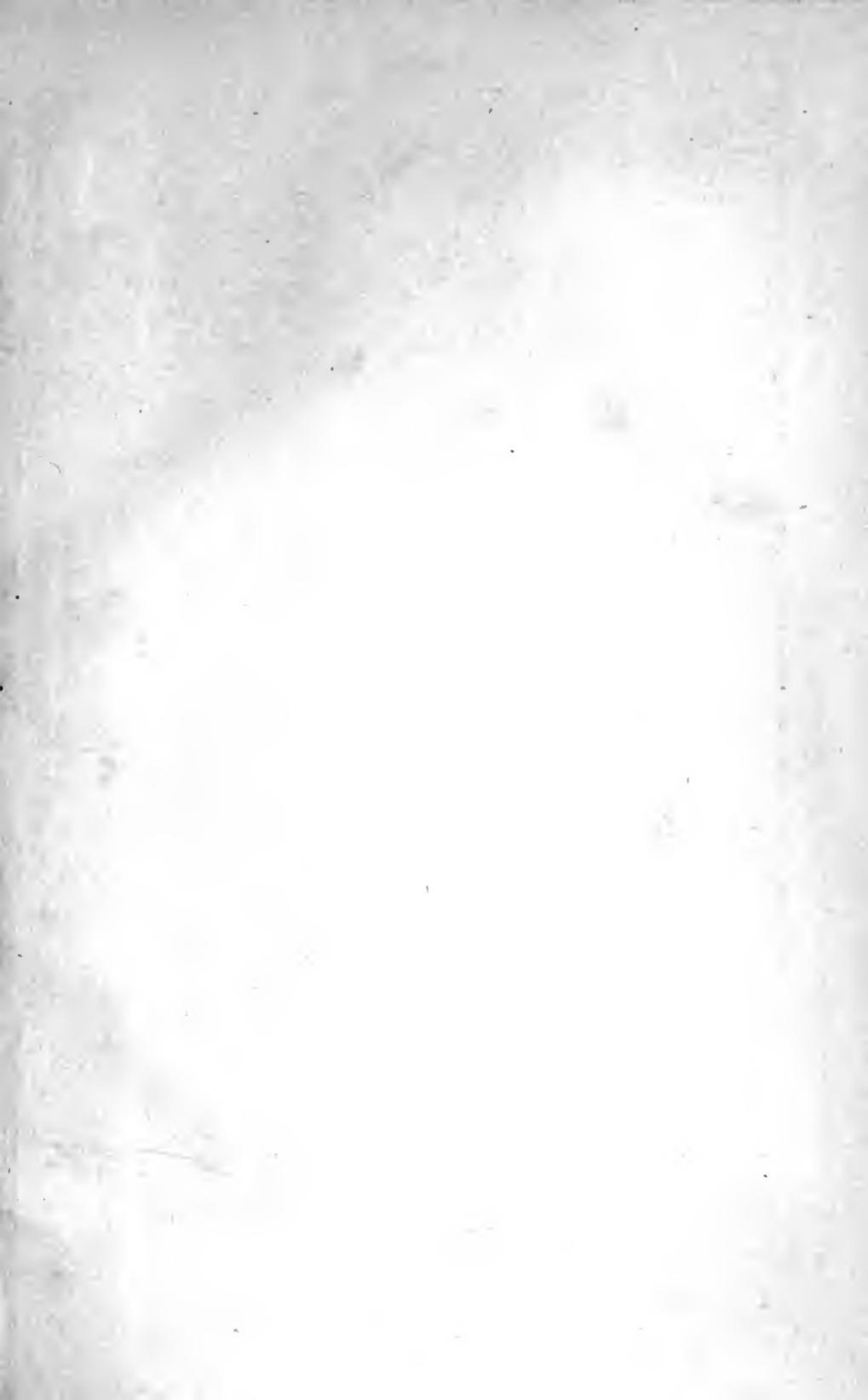
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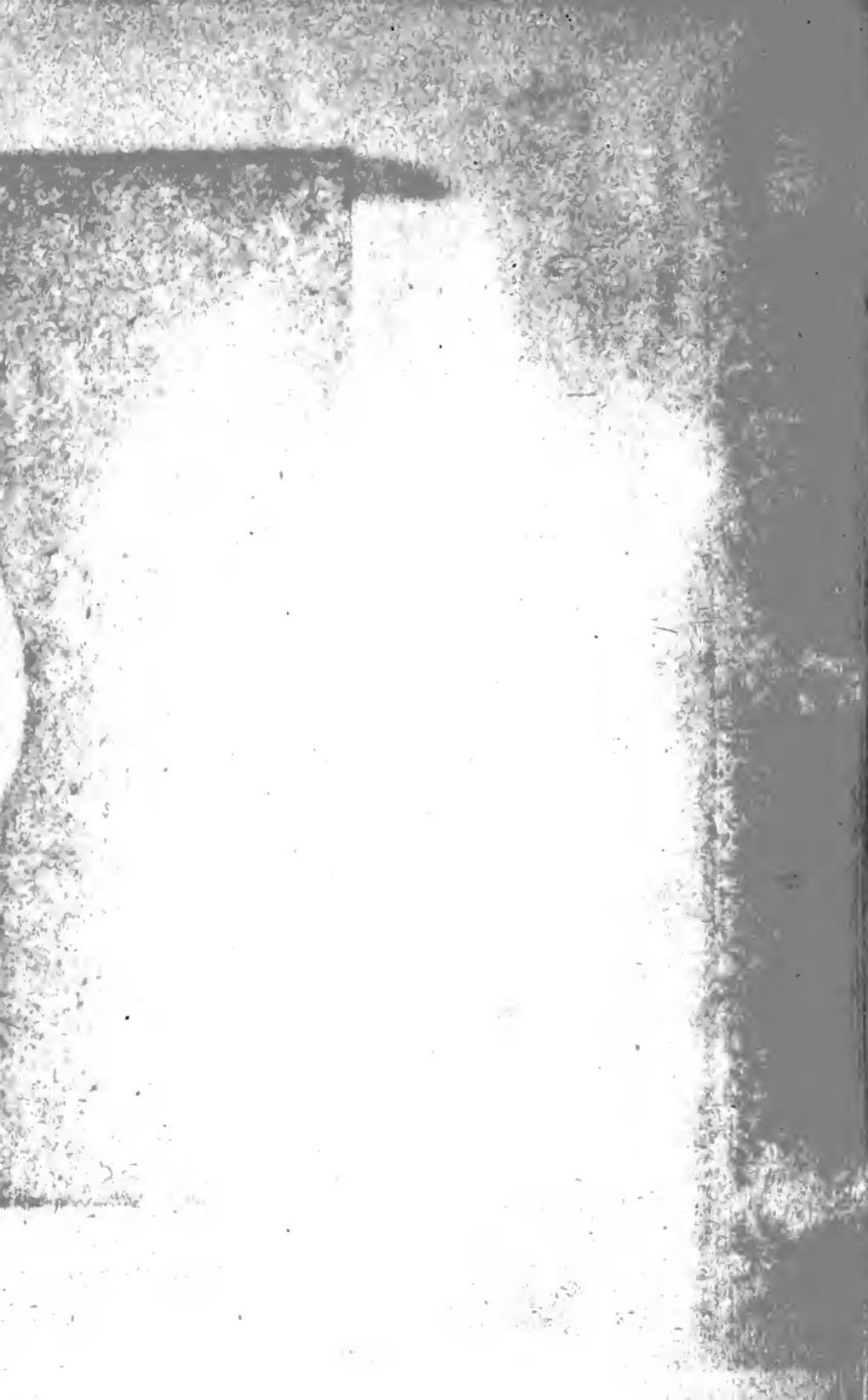
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